EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

BEING ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE
EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA DURING
ITS SESSION OF 1904-05

EDITED BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

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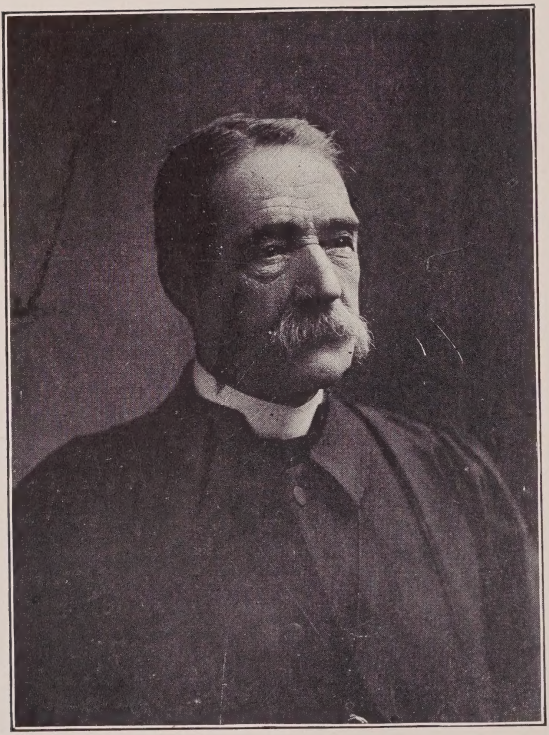

PROFESSOR WILLIAM CLARK, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

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INTRODUCTION.

PROGRESS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA.

The first Annual Meeting of the Empire Club of Canada was held at McConkey's, in Toronto, on May 12th, 1904, with Lieut.-Colonel James Mason, President, in the chair. In the course of a brief address or report upon the progress of the Club since its organization on Nov. 25th, 1903,* Colonel Mason reviewed the steps first taken and the proceedings of the Session now ended.

In all, twenty-one meetings were held and addresses delivered by as many well-known gentlemen on various subjects of public interest and pertaining to the objects represented by the motto of the Club. It can be said, judging from the reception given to these addresses, that they were very much appreciated by the members of the Club, and the opinions expressed by the speakers were, through the generosity of the newspapers of the city, widely disseminated, and without doubt have left their impression on many minds. Thus one of the chief objects for which the Club was established has been happily attained. The thanks of the Club are due to those gentlemen who, in many cases at considerable personal inconvenience, attended these weekly meetings to address the members, and to the press of Toronto for notices of the meetings and, in so many instances, lengthy reports of the addresses.

It was announced that a Committee composed of the President, the Rev. Professor Clark, Mr. J. P. Murray, Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Mr. Alex. Fraser, Mr. Castell Hopkins and the Secretary had been appointed to look after the publication of the addresses given before the Club. The officers of the preceding year were then re-elected, as follows, after Colonel Mason had urged that in his own case, at least, he should be allowed to retire: President, Lieut.-Colonel Mason; 1st Vice-President, Professor W. Clark; 2nd Vice-President, Mr. Hugh Blain; 3rd Vice-President, Mr. J. P. Murray;

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*NOTE: For a full account of the formation of the Club see *Empire Club Speeches*, 1903-4.

Treasurer, Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O.; Secretary, Mr. J. F. M. Stewart; Executive Committee, Messrs. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, F. Darling, Alex. Fraser, E. Wyly Grier, W. E. Lincoln Hunter, Wallace Jones, R. Junkin, Noel Marshall, H. C. Osborne and F. B. Polson.

During the preceding months Mr. Castell Hopkins had been acting as Literary Secretary of the Club, by request of the Executive Committee, and with the special work of arranging the speakers in his hands. This position he was asked to retain. Much assistance was given in this connection by the officers and a few of the members. In the year which followed, as reported at the Annual Meeting on May 12th, 1905, there were twenty-two meetings of the Club held and the season closed with a membership of 525. Of the *Empire Club Speeches,* 1903-4 which had, meanwhile, been published under the auspices of the Committee above named and the Chief Editorship of the Rev. Professor Clark, 500 copies were printed and the greater portion of these sold. Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, during the year, was compelled to resign the Secretaryship of the Club, and was succeeded by Mr. W. J. Green. Major J. Cooper Mason also retired from the Treasurership and was replaced by Mr. L. A. Winter. At the 2nd Annual Meeting, mentioned above, the officers for 1905-6 were elected as follows: President, Professor Wm. Clark, D.C.L., LL.D.; 1st Vice-President, Mr. J. P. Murray; 2nd Vice-President, Mr. R. Junkin; 3rd Vice-President, Mr. J. F. M. Stewart; Honorary Treasurer, Mr. L. A. Winter; Honorary Secretary, Mr. W. J. Green; Executive Committee, J. Castell Hopkins, Major J. Cooper Mason, J. M. Clark, K.C., S. Alfred Jones, F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Major E. Wyly Grier, Alex. Fraser, H. C. Osborne, W. H. Orr and Dr. E. H. Clouse.

At a succeeding meeting the constitution was amended by making Past Presidents of the Club *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee. It was also decided to continue the publication of the valuable addresses given before the Club during the year, and at a special meeting of the Executive on Nov. 27th the Literary Secretary was asked to act as Editor of the Proceedings for 1904-5. This little volume is the result.

PRINCIPLES OF THE CLUB.

The object of the Club is the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

2. Membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject.

3. Honorary members may be elected from time to time upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee at any open meeting of the Club.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

5. The fee for admission shall be the sum of One Dollar, payable annually in advance. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or shall be eligible for office, or have the right to attend at any meeting of the Club. Honorary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but will not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

6. The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer; a Secretary, and ten other members who together shall constitute, with the officers before mentioned, the Executive Committee, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. Two auditors shall also be elected at each annual meeting.

7. The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months, with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon. Nominations for office shall be made at the second general meeting of the Club in October of each year, and the elections shall take place at the next succeeding meeting, and this latter meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by a report of the Treasurer duly audited.

8. In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so selected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

9. The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

10. One week's written notice shall be given of all annual or special meetings to the members of the Club.

11. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called on a requisition signed by twelve members, and stating the object of the meeting. This object to be also stated in the notice calling the meeting.

12. The President's and Treasurer's Annual Reports, together with the list of members and the Constitution of the Club, shall be published in pamphlet form immediately after the annual meeting in each year.

13. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

14. Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, General, Annual or Special ; six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

CLAUSE II.

"The active membership of the Club shall be limited to five hundred, and membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen who is a British subject."

CLAUSE VI.

"That the election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held in the month of May in each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, and such committee shall report to the annual meeting. That Past Presidents of the Club shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee."

Colonel Sir C. E. Howard Vincent, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P.
A.D.C. to His Majesty the King.

EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

PREFERENTIAL TRADE WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

Address by Colonel Sir C. E. Howard Vincent, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P., A.D.C. to the King, on September 20th, 1904.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

The long statement that Colonel Mason has read to you concerning myself has placed me in a position of very considerable difficulty. I don't quite see how in the half hour or so that I am to have the privilege of adressing the members of the Empire Club of Canada; and, also, if I may venture to say so, the Daughters of the Empire, as represented in the gallery this evening by the President of that Imperial Order—I can hardly see how I am to live up to all those substantives, and all those adjectives, which you were so kind, Sir, as to read from that paper. However, I cannot do otherwise in commencing the observations I am anxious to lay before you this evening, not on my own behalf wholly, but on behalf of my constituents, of my friends and associates in the House of Commons with whom I am working in the Imperial cause, and on behalf of many others; I can but recall the words which were sung to us this evening from the gallery, "Marching away for the Dear Old Country." I can but recall them, Colonel Mason, when I remember your long and conspicuous services in the defensive affairs of Canada; and when I recollect that the last time I had the privilege of seeing your distinguished son, Major Cooper Mason, was with the Royal Regiment of Canada under Colonel Otter, when that regiment was leading the way of the British army before the Boer trenches at Paardeberg.

Nor could I do otherwise when I see and when I know that the Honorary President of the Empire Club of Canada is that most distinguished man, that most distinguished son of Canada and of Britain, Lord Strathcona, who uses his money so wisely and so patriotically to the advancement of the Empire; in every way which can contribute to the progress and the success of the Empire; and who from his own pocket paid the whole expenses, not much less than half a million sterling, for Strathcona's Horse. My address to-night is not of a military or a militant character, but I think, Colonel Mason, that you will pardon an allusion to this matter when I see before me so many who have contributed to the defensive strength of the Empire, and so many who in one capacity or another did so much to help Britain in the hour of need. The object of this gathering this evening I know, though nominally to do me honour, is rather to take counsel together upon the present condition of the Empire, upon the best means of furthering its interests in east and west and north and south, wherever under the Union Jack the Briton lives in freedom and in liberty, and in the advancement of trade, of commerce, and of peace. The Empire Club is assuredly doing good work in this direction. Now, the problem which I am anxious to lay before you to-night, and to confer with you upon this evening, is the interests of Canada and of a united Empire, and I would submit to you for your approbation and adoption that the interests of Canada lie in a united Empire.

A friend of mine has placed upon the walls of this hall this evening a map which I rejoice to say has been adopted by the majority of the educational authorities throughout the Empire, which shows what the British Empire might be with a proper regard to its mutual interests; the drawing of its bonds closer by the advancement of commerce for mutual benefit. I have been reminded by an old friend during the course of the evening of what the British Empire consists. It has thirteen millions of square miles of territory, covering one-fifth of the entire globe, with one-twentieth of the population of the whole world; commanding the sea, commanding the gates of every ocean, with four hundred millions of people. Over those four hundred millions of people there rules in succession to our great Queen Victoria, who was viewed with such veneration throughout her Dominion of Canada, whose son-in-law presided at the Government House of Canada; there rules King Edward the Seventh, a sovereign of supreme tact and commanding ability, who in the three years which have ensued since his accession has been conceded—not alone by his own subjects, but by the nations of the earth—the title of the Peace-maker. That enthusiastic friend of ours at the bottom of the hall after the Chairman gave the toast of the King, which was received so enthusiastically, as it is always done throughout Canada, could not restrain himself from singing "He is a jolly good fellow." That is the way in which he is regarded by all those who have the privilege of being brought into connection with him, however lowly or humble of degree, and he is the very last man who would be in the slightest degree offended at the exuberant loyalty of my honourable friend.

Now, let us view this Empire; let us view the Empire as it is, as it might be. Forty-two millions of people at home. Three million, five hundred thousand square miles of territory, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific in this our Dominion of Canada. Three million square miles of territory in Australia. The great possessions in South Africa; the possessions in East and West Africa. That gigantic Empire nineteen hundred miles in length, with a population of three hundred and fifty millions which we hold in Asia.

Now, it is often possible that some persons, loyal subjects, loyal sons of the Empire, living in some portion of the Empire, think their interests may have been slighted, or may have been ignored in some manner, or in some connection; but let us view ourselves, not as fragmentary parts, but as members of a whole Empire, whose interests are united, whose united interests must ever be the concern of the Imperial Government, and of all other Governments within the Empire. We have this Empire at the present time unfortunately connected entirely or merely by sentiment, by loyalty to the one Crown, by the common language, by the common system of law, the common habit of thought. Now, there arises the question as to whether it would not be possible, without infringing in the slightest degree upon the individual liberty of any portion of the Empire, to make this bond more solid, a more permanent bond of interest as well as of sentiment, which would be advantageous not alone to the Empire as a whole but to every portion of the Empire. Let us therefore consider if it would be possible to do this. If we say it would be possible to do it, let us consider in what way and by what means it would be possible to do it. If you are agreed, as I think you will be by your past action, by your recent history, by your present sentiment, by your presence here in this hall to-night, that this is desirable; let us take counsel together as to how we may perform this, how a course may be adopted which will bring about so desirable a result.

We only have to cast our minds back a comparatively short space of time, fifty or sixty years, the life of two generations, time well within the recollection of more than one present in this room to-night, when we saw an entirely different state of affairs to that which prevails at the present time; when communications between different portions of the Empire, either of individuals or for business transactions, was extremely prolonged and extremely difficult; when news from a distant Colony was ancient history when it reached the Mother-land: and when, unfortunately, a sentiment prevailed amongst many of our statesmen at home, not from any ill-feeling, but simply from ignorance, that a colony was rather an encumbrance than a source of strength. Happily, gentlemen, that sentiment has absolutely and entirely disappeared. Those statesmen have given place to other statesmen, who recognize that we have the greatest Empire upon earth, the greatest Empire which has ever been known to history, an Empire which produces everything which we require, either for the necessaries or luxuries of life; statesmen who recognize that the best way to secure the permanence of the Empire is to unite the Empire by a commercial union. And who should I quote in this connection more worthy of attention than that distinguished statesman who was for eight years the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. (Loud and continued applause.) These are his words: "There is a universal desire amongst all the members of the Empire for a closer union between the several branches. It is desirable, no, it is essential, for the existence of the Empire. Experience has taught us that this closer union can be most hopefully approached in the first instance upon its commercial side."

I see one of the evening papers of Toronto this evening says I have been kept on the jump with engagements. I certainly have had the pleasure of being kept upon the jump by the representatives of the local press throughout the day, and enterprising and able as those gentlemen are, they may in the hurry of my observations about this matter not have quite rightly understood me, for one of them states that I had said that "Chamberlain was a drag upon the movement." I did not give expression to any sentiment such as that, and I do not hesitate to say that to the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain the thanks of the Empire, the thanks of all orders for all time, will be due, for the courage, the ability, the perseverance, with which he champions the cause of an Empire united by commerce, united by trade. I referred to the state of affairs existing two generations ago. I referred—and in that connection I had in my mind of course, and you had in hearing me, the campaign of Mr. Cobden from 1840 to 1846. I had no intention of saying anything derogatory to the memory of Mr. Cobden. He was a man honest, persevering, according to his lights. He spoke for 1846.

What we have to consider is 1904 and the years to come. A system of free imports into England was established; it was established under promise to an enlightened public that other countries would at once see the advantage of free imports, would at once follow the example, and that within five years their tariffs against us would be destroyed. It is never safe to prophesy; Mr. Cobden prophesied and his prophecy has been singularly unsuccessful. Not one single nation, not one single British Colony, not one single country upon the face of the earth has adopted the system of free imports; and the spectacle which we see is that of tariffs raised higher and higher against us in every foreign country, and heavy fiscal barriers even in the Colonies of the British Empire.

Can such a state of affairs long continue? Now, I do not say to you anything which I have not said times out of number before greater audiences of my countrymen at home, before masses of my constituents. I do not speak with one voice on one side of the Atlantic and another voice on this side. I represent a constituency, and have represented it for the past twenty years, almost wholly composed of working men. They feel that the present system cannot possibly continue. What system can we replace it by? The system by which we can replace it with advantage to ourselves, with advantage to the whole Empire, is that of Preferential trade within the Empire; and it is on this ground that the United Empire Trade League was formed twenty years ago, to develop trade within the Empire, a mutually advantageous trade on a preferential basis. Now, there are some people who want to know every detail of this scheme, every cent, every dollar; they want to have the tariff before the principle is adopted. But let us have the principle first of all. Now, I wish to quote what was said by an excellent friend of mine before a great gathering in the City of London. He is a man of wide experience. He said, when a young man is courting a lady he doesn't settle beforehand every detail of the domestic organization, because he has the good sense to know that would lead to disunion rather than to union, but he says, "Let us have union, and let us trust to common sense to work out the details of the hours for meals and the daily routine of the domestic circle." That was a very apt example, and it is a plan which I think we may well adopt as regards the whole Empire.

Now, Canada in many ways, in many directions has led the way. You have a vast territory. Its capabilities even yet are but partially developed, I may say only partially known. Each successive visit I have paid to Western Canada opens my eyes wider to its enormous capabilities. We see how in a few years, in fifteen years, in twenty years, that which was almost unknown, the Province of Manitoba and the far West and British Columbia; how they are developing year by year more and more to what they are becoming, the granaries of the Empire, the feeding ground of the Empire. Then we can see what the Empire may be in fifty or sixty years, if you, if we of this generation but do our duty to all those who are to come after us, and leave the Empire more united that we found it. Coming as I do now from the North-West; crossing as I have recently done the boundary of comparatively unfertile land, and seeing the golden ears of the wheat stretching as far as the horizon on every hand, I say the problem is answered as to how the British people may be fed by British grain raised by British hands from British soil.

Canada I say has led the way, and it is impossible for anyone, whatever their feelings as regards this question may be, whatever their political feeling may be, not to recognize the noble example which has been set by Canada as soon as her hands were freed from the treaties which prevented that inter-commercial union which is so desirable, and hindered the Colonies from giving a preference to British goods over foreign goods. That policy initiated in 1898, that preference of 25 per cent., which was increased in 1900 to one-third per cent., prevails at the present time. Such has been the effect, Colonel Mason, of the example of Canada in this direction, that already at the present time British goods in South Africa receive a preference over foreign goods of 25 per cent. Whatever Ministry may rule over the destinies of Australia, we are assured that in the early future even a greater preference will be given to British goods by the great Commonwealth of Australia. To have accomplished so much in such a short space of time is a thing of which the Dominion from ocean to ocean may be proud, for she has set an example which is bearing abundant fruit, which is appreciated by every individual within the Mother Country, although there may be some slowness as to the possibility of reciprocating. This is the object for which Mr. Chamberlain is working. This is the object for which one-third of the present members of the House of Commons are working. This is the object for which many organizations, many clubs, and associations of the people in many districts of England, are working. I would ask any of you who feel inclined to be impatient by reason of the comparative slowness with which reciprocity is given by the Mother Country, to reflect that it takes some time to change an old and conservative country, and that it must be done carefully, slowly and cautiously.

I have no intention, Mr. Chairman, of wearying you with figures. You have all opportunities of consulting those interesting charts with which the Dominion Government brings information so clearly to all its constituents throughout the Dominion, and those charts show most clearly, with a study of but a few minutes, that although full reciprocity has not yet been adopted in the Mother Country, that the action of Canada has borne abundant fruit, and that the doubling, the nearly trebling of your trade with Great Britain between 1896 and 1903 is the fruit, the abundant fruit, of this policy which you initiated, and of this example which you set. Nor is it alone a question as regards Great Britain, however true it is that we have forty-two millions of people there—that is, many times the population of this great Dominion—but it is that your example has been profitable in other parts of the Empire, and is increasing Canadian trade with Australia, with South Africa, and also in some degree with the far East. Therefore, I would urge you to persevere in this course, sure that it is successful up to the present time, sure that it is appreciated at home, and that we at home will make every exertion to reciprocate to the full the generous example you have set as regards the whole Empire. Let me take advantage of the opportunity, Mr. Chairman, of saying in this friendly and informal gathering that if any member of this Club is in need of any information which it is possible for me to supply him with I hope that he will not hesitate to ask me either verbally or in writing any question. I should be delighted to furnish such information as is at my command, and no trouble will be too great to advance the knowledge which I desire to disseminate.

You will expect from me, Mr. Chairman, some observations as to the course of affairs at home, as to how it is that there is apparent difficulty in making material headway. Those who have followed the recent course of events in England will have noticed that in 1902 we re-established the registration duty upon imported meal and flour. That brought in some thousands of pounds a day to the public coffers, but did not effect in the slightest degree the price of bread or the price of flour. Why was this duty rescinded then in 1903? That is one of the problems which I am afraid I can't answer. I think it is a very great pity that it was rescinded, but there are Cabinet secrets which are only revealed after the lapse of long years. I hope that I shall be living when that Cabinet secret is revealed. It is a great pity that it ever took place. Unfortunately the price of bread has since gone up. These matters are mixed very strongly with party politics, and some people were afraid of the strong party feeling which was agitated over the re-imposition of this registration duty on imported corn and meal. Some of them got nervous. Well, the worst politicians of all are nervous people, and the most unsuccessful people are those who are always thinking about the opinion of their constituents and the vote of their constituents. An elector likes above everything a straightforward and honest politician, who is not always trimming his opinions according to what he believes the view of the moment of some section of his constituents, but who goes straight at his point and sticks to it in good report and evil report. However, we are only able to deal with facts. We lost the registration of imported corn and meal, that measure was rescinded, but in a very few days after we won to our cause the very statesman and the very leader on whom we had always fixed our eyes, the man who understood the Empire as very few do; on the 15th of May, 1903, we obtained for Preferential trade the leadership and support of the foremost man in this Empire, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain.

Well, an election will come within a few months in all probability in the United Kingdom. It will be a fiercely contested election. Very likely the party which for seventeen years out of the last twenty has held office will receive a setback. Whether that will be so or not I cannot say, but I bring up this matter, not in any party spirit, as I am anxious, Mr. Chairman, to avoid any reference to party politics either at home or in any part of the Empire; I bring up this matter in no party spirit, but ask the members of the Empire Club who hear me to-night, and the people of the Dominion of Canada who may read my words, and to all friends of Preferential trade within the Empire, not to be discouraged by any temporary setback. The Hon. Mr. Foster said in his speech at Liverpool, after speaking in many districts in England and Wales, that the present progress would not have been possible if the soil had not been well prepared. Be sure of this, when the soil has been further cultivated; when the cause is championed by a man of the character, the ability and intellect of Mr. Chamberlain; when it is endorsed by the great masses of the people in all the centres of intellect and industrial activity; then no temporary setback will arrest this cause. It is bound to win because it is founded on common kinship, it is based upon a common Empire, and it is welded with a common interest. The object, therefore, of my observations upon this head, is to ask you, one and all, not to be discouraged; is to beg of you, one and all, to have patience, feeling, as you may do, as I assure you may be done, that those working with you in the Old Land, who are marching with you for the dear old land, holding up their banner, holding up your example, will do all they can to develop your great possessions and to encourage your great industries.

There are some people—I fear there is one individual in the City of Toronto—who never can help being hypnotized with the great glamour of our active and energetic kinsmen to the south of the boundary. There is one such in the City of Toronto, but I doubt very much if there are more; if there are, I speak only of them with respect; I am sorry for them. Stick to your own country. Stick to your own land. Let this be your motto, "Britain for Britons, British trade for British hands, British markets for British producers," and let every man here, every man throughout the Dominion, feel that the maxim for him in life is the maxim which was propounded by the first Vice-President of our United Empire Trade League, the late Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die." (Loud and continued applause.)

With these words I might well conclude the observations which I have been anxious to lay before you, but cannot resume my seat without once more thanking you for the past, thanking you for your attitude in the present, and asking you as one devoted to your interests, as eager as any member of the Empire Club for the advancement of the interests of Canada, and of a United Empire, to persevere in the course which you have followed in recent times. Be assured that therein lies the true greatness and the true welfare of every son of this Dominion. Be assured that it is in this lies your future, in this lies the future prosperity of those who come after you.

THE POSITION OF CYPRUS IN THE EMPIRE.

Address by the Rev. Professor H. T. F. Duckworth, M.A., of Trinity University, on Thursday, November 10th, 1904.

> "They therefore that were scattered abroad upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and Antioch, speaking the word to none save only to Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus."—*Acts xi. 19, 20.*
>
> "Eccovi dunque come Cipro è vera amica di Christo, et Provincia veramente di Terra Santa!"
>
> —*Steffano Lusignano: Chorograffia et Breve Historia dell' Isola de Cipro.*
>
> "Plus aquilis vexilla crucis, plus Cæsare Paulus
> Plus cinctis ducibus vulgus inerme dedit."
>
> —*Hildebert of Tours.*
>
> "Scis, Salamis quid sit: Gabiis desertior atque
> Fidenis vicus; tamen illic vivere vellem."
>
> —*Horace.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—

While Lunch was in progress I remarked to Mr. Green that I wished I had a large scale map of the eastern Mediterranean, in order that it might hang on the wall behind for me to look at while this address was in progress, and Mr. Green remarked that even the locality of Cyprus was rather an obscure matter to many in this country. Perhaps that is not altogether surprising, for certainly Cyprus is an obscure corner of the British Empire at the present moment and yet, circumstances may arise under which it may become a very important point indeed. Before I go any further perhaps it might not be out of place to give you just a few details with regard to the size of the Island, its natural character, its population and resources.

If a raft were to be constructed equal in area to the Island of Cyprus it could be just about floated in Lake Ontario. The area of Cyprus is about thirty-six hundred square miles. The shape of it, as you will recollect, is that of an irregular parallelogram, with a long projection running out from the north-east corner. The extreme length from north-east to south-west is about one hundred and forty miles and the breadth varies in the main body of the Island from sixty to thirty miles. The long peninsula running out to the north-east is some forty miles long and nowhere more than six miles in breadth. The population of the Island, according to the last Census, taken in 1901, was 237,000. Of that population four-fifths are Greeks—Greeks, at any rate, by language, by religion, by sentiment and social institutions. The remaining one-fifth consists mainly of Moslems, some of whom are Turks, while others are descendants of the Greeks, who, after the Turkish conquest of the Island became apostates to the Mohammedan faith; besides these are a small sprinkling of Maronites from Syria, and a few Armenians and some Syrians and Arabs and Jews. Not many Jews, because it is said the Jew in Cyprus is about as badly off as he is in Scotland. The Island, judged by Canadian measurements, is microscopic. Still, it holds its head high among the islands and even, you might say, some of the continents of the earth. There are two extensive mountain ranges in it. The highest mountain is 6,406 feet above the sea, and several mountains run from 4,000 to 5,000 feet.

The title of this address is, "The position of Cyprus in the Empire." That position is certainly a very curious one and quite unique in so far as the High Commissioner and all the chief officials of the Island are appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Cyprus may be called a dependency of the British Crown; but it is not a dependency in the sense in which Jamaica or Trinidad are dependencies of the Crown. The proper description of the status of Cyprus would be this: It is a Turkish Province which is administered and occupied by Great Britain for Imperial purposes. The right of such administration and occupation is paid for at the rate of some 92,000 pounds per annum, which, according to the original Cyprus Convention, ought to have been paid into the Treasury of the Turkish Government, but for the last twenty-two years at least has been retained by Great Britain in part payment of the interest on a loan contracted by the Sultan's Government in 1855, and guaranteed by the Governments of Great Britain and France.

The circumstances under which Great Britain became the Sultan's tenant in Cyprus are briefly as follows: In 1878 the Eastern question had assumed rather an alarming aspect for Great Britain. For Great Britain this question means mainly the retention of India. That depends on keeping up unbroken communication with India; and the shortest route of communication is by the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. That is not the only route, but it is so much the shortest and the saving of time effected by having it is so valuable that it is worth protecting and fighting for. Now, the extension of a power like Russia towards the Mediterranean threatens that route, and in 1878 it looked as though Russia were on the very point of seizing Constantinople and advancing further south in another direction, through Roumania, towards the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta. Certain advances would have placed Russia on the flank of the route between Great Britain and India, and if it could have been effected, as Russia would like to have effected it, no doubt it would have enabled Russia to cut that line of communication almost at will.

While the negotiations for the revision of the St. Stephano Treaty were in progress, there was another series of negotiations being carried on, very much on the quiet, in Constantinople. The result of these negotiations was made public on the 4th of June, 1878, and that result is known as the Cyprus Convention. By that Convention Great Britain was allowed to occupy and administer the Island of Cyprus by way of a set-off for Russia's acquisition of the fortress of Kars and the seaport of Batoum, south of the Caucasus. This right of occupation was allowed to Great Britain in order, so the Treaty said, to place Great Britain in a position to, let us say, enable, if not force, the Sultan to carry out certain promised reforms made with regard to the government of his Christian subjects. For the right of occupation and administration of Cyprus Great Britain was to hand over year by year to the Turkish Government the surplus of revenue over expenditure and the amount of that surplus was calculated, or said to be calculated, upon the returns for the five years beginning in 1873, and ending in 1877, and the amount was figured or calculated at about 87,600 pounds in English money. Besides that there was a sum of 5,000 pounds to be paid in compensation for Great Britain taking up certain Crown lands in the Island of Cyprus with another small sum for certain high duties. The total amounted in money to 92,797 pounds, and besides that there was to be a quantity of salt which was made in the Island and sent year by year to Constantinople.

Now, why was it that the Island of Cyprus was selected by Lord Beaconsfield as Great Britain's set-off for the Russian acquisition of Kars and Batoum? That it was such a set-off is quite certain from the wording of the Treaty which provides that so long as the Russians remain in possession of Kars and Batoum Great Britain shall be entitled to remain in occupation of Cyprus. Great Britain of course is free to leave Cyprus at any moment she likes, but if the British Government is withdrawn the Turkish Government must take its place. We are not at liberty to make the Island over to the Greeks as we did with the Ionian Islands in 1864. We are not at liberty to sell or transfer it to any Power. If we wish to relinquish the Island we must make room for the Turks once again. As there is no prospect of the Russians abandoning Kars and Batoum before being absolutely forced to do so, and as it is pretty well a maxim now that where the Turk has once been compelled to withdraw he be not allowed to return, the prospects are that the Union Jack having been run up over Cyprus will not be hauled down again. (Applause.)

The reasons for selecting Cyprus would be best appreciated by looking at a map. Cyprus is important on account of its geographical position. The Island lies on the flank of our steamship routes which converge on Port Said and the northern entrance of the Suez Canal. It absolutely commands maritime communications between Constantinople on the north and Syria and Egypt on the south; and these maritime routes are much shorter and more expeditious than the land routes. A fleet operating from Cyprus as its base would, in the absence of a hostile fleet of equal strength, have the whole coast of southern Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt at its mercy. It could sweep a whole circle from Rhodes to Alexandretta and from there to Alexandria. Cyprus thus is an important strategical point to the Empire by virtue of its geographical position, and that at any rate was the ostensible reason, and I have no doubt at all it was the real reason, with Lord Beaconsfield. While he selected that as our set-off for the Russian acquisition of territory south of the Caucasus, that acquisition of territory south of the Caucasus was an acquisition in the direction of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and it looked as if the Russians were searching for a suitable place from which to make a spring upon Alexandretta and from thence threaten Egypt.

But although Cyprus is so excellently placed in respect of its geographical situation, it needs to have money spent upon it, and what nature has done has to be supplemented by art in order that it may become an effective naval base. Even in the case of Port Arthur the Russians found that they had to spend an enormous amount of money in order to make that a serviceable naval base and a really defensible fortress, although nature had done so much for the place. But nature has done far less in respect of Cyprus. There are no really good natural harbours in the Island. In fact there are only roadsteads at present, and the harbours of Famagousta and Paphos, whatever may have been their service for the ancient and mediæval world, are now choked and silted up and quite useless for the needs and size of modern shipping. In order to make Cyprus a really effective naval base; in order that man might do his part where nature has not done hers altogether; a very extensive and heavy expenditure of money was called for to provide the necessary docks, harbour works, store buildings and fortifications and all that is necessary for the equipment of a modern naval station. Now, what has been done in that respect? Until within the last two years nothing was done at all. Even at the present time there is not a single good mercantile harbour on the whole coast of Cyprus. The vessels of one of the large lines have to lie at anchor outside Larnaca; they cannot get near; and they have to pay a pretty heavy tonnage due for the privilege of casting anchor in that exposed roadstead. This is true of Larnaca, and is true of Famagousta and of Paphos. As for artillery, there is none. The only guns that I saw were some old smooth-bore guns—eighteen or twenty four-pounders cast at the Woolwich Arsenal in the reign of George IV. These antiquities are at present mounted on bastions which the Phœnicians built for the defence of Nicosia, the then capital. At the present day these old guns are used for firing salutes on the Sultan's accession day. With regard to railways; in the interior of the Island no railways have been laid down and the present movement of traffic hardly calls for them.

So the net result of the position is this, that Great Britain having acquired what is geographically speaking an excellent strategical position for the control of the eastern Mediterranean and for completing the protection of the Mediterranean section of the route between England and India, has really done nothing, or next to nothing, until very recently, to supplement what was needed in the way of constructing harbour works and fortifications. It is only within the last two or three years at the outside that harbour works have been commenced at Famagousta, and the first thing to be done was to deepen the harbour so as to afford modern shipping enough water to cast anchor close to the shore. Recent events have shown that Russia as a naval power is only dangerous to the modern fellow-craftsman of Andrew, the fisherman of Bethsaida. The result is that the erection of the necessary fortifications in Cyprus will be delayed; yet, it ought to be pressed on with all speed. Although Russia may not be dangerous at present at sea, she has not been done with and we are likely to hear from her again in the future, and it is as well to be ready for her in the future; lessons, however, which the British Government seem to be remarkably slow to take to heart.

I think I have said enough to make clear the political position of Cyprus in the Empire; what is its strategical value by virtue of its geographical position; and what ought to be done in order that the advantages of that geographical position may be realized and made available for effective naval service. Putting it shortly, one may say this, it requires an expenditure of at least a million pounds sterling, which no British Government has been willing yet to face, for British policy with regard to Cyprus for a long time was very uncertain, our Governments never being quite certain whether they were going to leave the Island or stay on it. In fact one might say the only conscious reason for the retention of Cyprus was this, that Great Britain could exact from the Cypriotes some 93,000 pounds per annum as a contribution to paying off the interest on the Turkish loan of which Great Britain was one of the guarantors. That loan was contracted in 1855. The payment of interest was repudiated by the Sultan in 1876 and consequently the duty of payment of the interest fell upon the guarantors, Great Britain and France. Now the unfortunate Cypriote is made responsible for the payment of, at any rate, part of that interest. What then is the feeling of the population of Cyprus towards us? That population, as I have told you, consists mainly of Greeks—four-fifths are Greeks by sentiment and religion. The way they look at it is this. They say—you Britons have come in here. We did not ask you to come in. We are not particularly anxious that you should come in. You came in here without being asked or invited. You occupied the Island entirely for your own purposes, in the interests of your Empire, for the protection of your maritime route to India. That arrangement was made entirely over our heads. You acquired the Island on terms which were unsatisfactory to yourselves, but you were in such a hurry you didn't stop to look and see what the nature of the terms really was. You allowed yourself to be hoodwinked by the Turks into believing that the surplus of revenue over expenditure for the five years previous to 1878 was equal to 93,000 pounds per annum, whereas in consequence of the depreciation of the paper money in which the taxes were paid, the real figure was only about 66,000 pounds.

So you have let yourselves in for paying nearly 30,000 pounds more money than you need have done, but that is your fault and your lookout; and having made this arrangement with the Sultan over our heads, without asking us about it, you now come down upon us in order to pay up that grossly over-estimated rental or rather sum of money which is not now paid as rent to the Sultan, but goes into the pockets of certain people who happen to hold the Turkish 1855 bonds. They say, is that right, is that just? You occupy the Island for your own interests and your own purposes, and you make us pay for the arrangement? No, if Great Britain occupies Cyprus for Imperial purposes, then the costs of such an arrangement ought to come out of the Imperial Treasury and no revenue raised in Cyprus ought to be applied for any other purpose except for purposes such as are local and relate to the moral and material improvement of the people. Now, in occupying Cyprus, we did officially through the proclamation made by Sir Garnet Wolseley, on the 22nd July, 1878, undertake to neglect nothing that would contribute to the moral and material advancement and welfare of the people of Cyprus. What has been done in that direction? Something has been done. The education of the people has been supervised for the last twenty-four years by an Education Department. Internal communication has been improved by the construction of roads and bridges;

forests have been saved from destruction and a Department of Agriculture has been organized which endeavours to induce the Cyprus peasant to procure improved agricultural implements and to resort to improved agricultural methods. For the work of the Chief Medical Officer's department, I think no praise could be too high. Certainly his Department in the Island has been the means of saving it from epidemics of cholera and smallpox from which it certainly would not have escaped in the old days of Turkish administration. They have managed to keep those diseases from invading the Island from Syria and Egypt. The population has increased from 185,000 in 1881, to 237,000 in 1901; that is to say, an increase of 52,000 people in twenty-two years, and not due at all to immigration.

Moreover, the people have been granted a certain measure of local government, so that this can be said for them that they are getting a political education. But with all that has been done for them, to say nothing of the straight, clean-handed administration of justice which they have got from English Judges, both of the Supreme and District Courts, the people still, as a whole, are restive and peevish. They feel that the burden of taxation is too heavy, and there is no doubt it is. Going into the facts and figures of the case one finds that the burden of taxation has increased under British rule by fully fifty per cent. over the Turkish days, and that there are several taxes levied now by the British Government which were not levied by the old Turkish regime. The Cypriotes talk of re-union with Greece. If they wish for it nobody can find fault with them. The majority of the population are Greeks. Only it is not in our power to effect re-union.

Meanwhile we ought to leave nothing undone to reconcile them to the present arrangement, and the first and most necessary thing to be done in the interests of the population of Cyprus is that Great Britain should take upon itself, absolutely, the duty of paying the 92,799 pounds rent for the occupation of the Island under the terms of the Cyprus Convention of 1878; and that the revenue raised in Cyprus should be spent in Cyprus and for the benefit of the Cyprus people. Were that done, were they shaking off that burden under which they live, that root of bitterness would be removed, and though the Cypriotes might retain a sentimental regard for Greece there would be hardly any chance of its ever developing into the violent disaffection which ran so high in the Ionian Isles under our administration there. At some future time, if circumstances enabled Great Britain safely, with regard to her own interests, to effect the union of Cyprus with Greece, the thing might be done. but at present Great Britain must retain the Island in her own interests for the protection of her communication with India. Great Britain ought, however, to retain the Island in such a manner that no accusation can be brought against her by the people of the Island of governing them oppressively and without due regard to their interests.

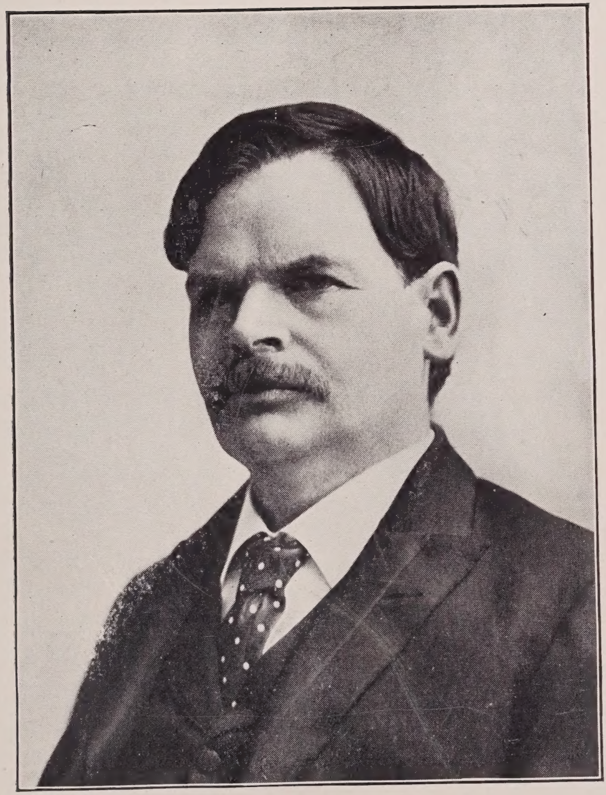
IMPERIALISM IN CANADA.

Address by Mr. W. Wilfred Campbell, F.R.S.C., of Ottawa, on Thursday, November 23rd, 1904.

Mr. Chairman,—

I will not deal with the patriotic side of Imperialism more than to say that I feel we are all loyal British subjects as well as Canadians. I must insist, however, at the start, that the true Imperialist is as good a Canadian as any. I protest against the local Independence man calling himself the only true Canadian. I would retort: "Little he knows of Canada, who only Canada knows." I claim to be an Imperialist not only from the heart, but also from the head, and one of my strongest claims for Imperialism is that I believe it the only means by which there will ever be a real Canadian nation.

If we have in a sense become Americanized, it is our own fault as a people. It is because we have failed to develop our inward and Imperial resources apart from the material. It is because we have failed to use those present-day mediums, the press, the platform, the school, the pulpit, the library, the Parliament, as organizations to educate, influence and inspire our people toward Imperial and Canadian ideals. It is necessary to educate through the mediums I have mentioned, or else we as a people will go to the wall. What we want more than anything else is an inter-imperial Press Bureau established in London, England, to control, influence and elevate the press of the Empire. I would have editorials and all sorts of reading matter, clipped wholly or in part from the press of the Empire and re-circulated throughout the Empire, so that the daily and weekly thought, news and opinion of the various parts should be circulated throughout the whole. I would replace with this the large amount of what is called American boiler-plate in our many Canadian local papers. I would have



Mr. W. Wilfred Campbell, F.R.S.C.

it attractive as well as elevating and unifying in influence. Let a people in an Empire have their press literature common to all, and the ends of the earth will not separate them.

Then there are the churches; they should be practical influences in Imperial union. It is the duty of Christianity to keep such a great moral force as the British Empire solid and lasting. It is our duty, in short, to organize and use all the practical means possible, because without organization we can do nothing. There is to-day a great misconception as to the true meaning of Imperialism. Present-day Imperialism is more than a mere self-satisfied jingoism, and a desire to emulate the splendours of ancient Rome. What its opponents fail to see is that true Imperialism, as it stands to-day, is more than an opinion; it is a vital force, a sort of necessary phase of human progressiveness; that instead of being the foe to the individual national life, it is the greatest necessary means to that end. My belief is that it is the one wicket-gate through which any young people of to-day can ever hope to finally attain a true national entity. Imperialism is a force which has seized the civilized world, and not to understand and recognize the new Imperial element in the world's progress, is, for the individual, to stamp himself as behind the times; and for the people to acknowledge itself uncivilized.

This Imperial idea is largely a desire to pool interests. It has permeated Canada. The union of churches, the confederation of the Provinces, the departmental store, the trust, the forming of societies for mutual interest, the very trades unions; in short all movements by which the mottoes "union is strength" and "the good of the many," are illustrated and carried out, are a part of this mysterious wave of human interest toward a newer, larger future—that new Imperialism which is taking possession of the modern world. It is, after all, the constructive form which the democracy is taking after its destructive period has passed; and which men like Mr. Goldwin Smith have been looking for, but have not recognized. Just as Christianity was evolved out of Judaism, so the present Imperialistic movement is coming up as the constructive period of the democracy. There is nothing antagonistic to the democratic idea in this Imperialism. It is not merely a re-action. It is something more. Men and nations in the democratic period merely separated, emancipated themselves to come together again under better conditions and through freer relations. The democracy had not for its end the welfare of the mere individual, but rather the good of the many.

Judaism had for its central ideal a peculiar people. Its inception was purely separatist in idea and ideal; it was negative with its many "thou shalt nots" in its appeal to the individual. It was, in short, more a preparation than an ideal state. Christianity was its true culmination, and was nothing more than the construction period of the world-movement, whereof the Judaistic was the destructive. In chemistry it is necessary for elements in small combinations to separate before they fuse in a greater mass. Yet Christianity, while the real blossom of the Judaistic bud, seemingly taught the very opposite doctrine of world rule. It was, though cradled in a seemingly narrow separatist school, destined to be the great fusing influence, the spiritual world empire.

Just as the orthodox Jew of Christ's day could not see the true significance of Christianity and condemned it as folly and madness; so do the school of separatists in Britain and America fail to see that Imperialism is but the child, the blossom of the democratic idea which they have fostered and have been true to during a century past. But I would not condemn them for this. To each man is given the light of his day and hour; we all see but as through a glass darkly, and the men who fought for the expansion of the democratic principle in Britain and America, during the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries, were great souls, who were true to their light; they did their work well; they were the pioneers of light and self-government among men in their day. If they erred in the fact that they thought their work the only and final effort needed, and their ideal of government the best, instead of being but a preparation for something which they could not see; they have only done as millions of earth's souls have done before them and will do again.

It is a great and wise law of life that we should not see too far into the future; as to do so would paralyze our effort here. Could the first artist have seen the perfection of Greek art, or the first discoverer the wonders of modern science, he would never have climbed the first few steps in that great stairway by which mankind has reached the present attainment of its expression of sublimity and beauty; and its power over the forces of nature. So God, who has the whole truth, gives each age and period its own task to perform, and encourages it by its very blindness. Thus also has it been in the realms of human self-emancipation, social and civil. If the fighter for self-government, for individual and local representation, had seen the ultimate possibility of Imperialism as we see it now, he would not have struggled so hard to get away from central government. To him was given the instinct to destroy, to get away from, to separate, to individualize; and we cannot be surprised if this school of men do not yet see that their work was only preparatory, if they yet think that the world's work is still to be destructive and not reconstructive on a newer, better, more rational basis. There are many earnest men in England and America to-day who do not see the matter in this light, but who, if they did, would approach the whole question of Imperialism from a saner, less aggressive standpoint. It should be our duty to appeal to this class, and to awaken the general intelligence of the British peoples here and elsewhere, within and beyond our borders, to a sense of the need of studying Imperialism from a rational and practical standpoint, and to make them realize that it is a real, vital force that they have to face, and no mere chimera.

It must be remembered by the friends of any cause, no matter how righteous it may be, that there are many reasons why it may not appeal to other communities or portions of a community. It is, I believe, more often from a lack of intelligent presentation of its case, than from any outside opposition, that many a good cause has failed to succeed. In a country like Canada and an Empire like ours, it is our duty, whatever our own beliefs, to appeal rather to the larger common sense and reason of the people, and to aim to set our ideas before others more as if they were theirs than ours, and to try and let them see those ideals fairly at their best from their own standpoint. Believing this, I think it is the duty of the Imperialists to organize a thorough and wise education of our people concerning Imperialism as an ideal and a necessity in all of its many phases. It is only by such a wise, patient and rational education of the people concerning this subject that we can ever expect to attain for Canada her proper place and share in this world movement.

All progressive communities, all organizations, and progressive men of to-day are consciously, or unconsciously, Imperialists. We have been warned, as the worst charge against Imperialism, by its opponents that it will embroil us in outside struggles and troubles, wars and responsibilities. This is the whole cry against its inception. They say, "We want to live to ourselves." "We want to be independent." Yet what is the truth? There is no portion of our people in Canada who have ever been truly independent of, or free from, the outside world. No sane man believes that we can in a world like this live to ourselves. Is there a church in Canada, a society or organization, a business interest, a political party, a profession, an institution of any sort, or a man worthy the name, which is not in some sense Imperialist, which does not have deep interests of some sort outside of this country?

All our religion, our commerce, our culture, our thoughts, our education, our travel, our progress, our invention, our science, our literature, is a continual rebuke to the separatist. Yet, to the large mass of our people this truth is so little known. It is decidedly time to point out in no uncertain manner that Imperialism is not a mere desire of a portion of ours or any people; but that it is a great force in the modern world, swaying us all; that it is here to stay until it has performed its work of reconstructing the modern democracy.

Are not our churches, as missionary bodies, continually in danger of embroiling themselves in distant lands? If this is wrong, why allow them to do so? The most of our Canadian churches were mixed up in the Boxer troubles in China, troubles which nearly involved the whole world in war. Should they withdraw their interests and cease to be Imperial? Look at our commerce, it demands that we have world-wide relations. It daily exposes us to outside complications. Must it cease? What of our press? The most Imperial influence in the whole world to-day? Should we muzzle it, because it is hourly interesting us, as it has been for nearly a century, in outside affairs? Might not its very attitude in the present war irritate either nation? What of our reading matter, our literature, our science, our trade, the very ladies and their fashions? You may call it cosmopolitanism; but it is simply Imperialism in one form or another. It is inter-dependence, rather than independence. The men who went to South Africa were Imperialists, but so were the Papal Zouaves, who went to Italy to fight for the Pope; so have been all of our business men, scholars, students, politicians and men in whatever walk of life who have left our country to make their way in Britain, the States and other countries; or who, residing here, have obtained and accepted honours, titles and recognition from governments and learned societies outside of Canada. These, each and all, have by their action and desire, voiced the incompleteness of a mere narrow Canadianism, and its impotency to satisfy the ambition and ideal of any man who has ambitions and ideals. These are all in act and ideal Imperialist, and among them as remarkable examples are those Canadians whose ambitions have led them to the wider field of the Imperial Parliament, such as Messrs. Blake, Brown, Devlin and Parker. Some of these Canadians have, inconsistently, been among the bitterest separatists. They would keep the average Canadian narrow and isolated, while they themselves take advantage of the larger scope. Is this fair, is it just, to the people? Why should they take part in Imperial affairs and deny the right of the people to do so? This is only one among many of the inconsistencies of the opponents of present-day Imperialism, who, while openly fighting it, have shown by their very method of opposition the vital necessity of a greater centre of social, political and ideal unity, such as is found in the great capital of the British Empire and its central government.

The opponents of Imperialism are in a minority, but they are in their way active. They are the "Little Englander," the "Little Irelander" and the "Little Canadian." Sincere as they may be, they are behind the times. They still live in the destructive period of the democracy. It is quite possible that even great movements or parties may change places, and the one progressive party become in time the historical back number. By clinging to a mere political creed or idea long after it has performed its work, men can become as obsolete in idea as old words and old customs. To-day the men who are little Englanders, little Irelanders and little Canadians are behind the times in their political ideals. Many of them are so far bemuddled in 18th century issues, 18th century bitterness, and 18th century ideals long accomplished, that they have forgotten that this is the 20th century. They have forgotten that much has taken place in the interval; that the world of to-day has outgrown the stage of mere expansion and individualistic antagonism; that life has become more self-controlled, that man's view, as a whole, is larger, saner and more centralized. They do not see that the foes to be fought to-day are not old-world tyrannies, but the evils of ignorance and materialism and their attending tyranny everywhere, especially on this continent.

> "We bear with us the despot in our blood."

There is a law of mankind that the struggle for liberty must ever be against the ruling force in a people.

The ruling power to-day and for a century past has been the people. The democracy has now become the tyrant. For this reason it is all-important that the people should be warned of the fact that the danger is now to be found in the democratic rather than the aristocratic element, which no longer rules. If the democracy were left to itself, it would soon bring its own destruction, but Imperialism, or the saner constructive period, has taken its place. Whereas the early democracy was necessarily separative, destructive, revolutionary, iconoclastic, negative, bitter, alienating, breaking down, despairing, so the newer democracy or Imperialism, is saner, wiser, calmer, tolerant, constructive, unifying, peaceful, practical and hopeful. It is the great principle of peace and progress to-day over the world, and it is this principle of sane Imperialism which should be the chief platform of all progressive parties to-day. No sincere, large-minded man, no real statesman, can exist to-day who does not make it his main platform. It must appeal to the practical, progressive young man of the present, as answering to all his ideals of life. It is after all this ideal, neither wholly democratic or aristocratic; but the happy blending of both; which is ever found in any condition of society where a consistent progress is built upon a firm and lasting foundation.

Mr. Goldwin Smith in his address before the Canadian Club, made the statement that, no matter what our outside affiliations and ties, our future as a Canadian people had to be worked out in connection with this continent. He instanced also the blending of the crosses on the Union Jack as an example of the power of geographical propinquity to triumph over all other influences. Though he did not say it in so many words, he meant us to understand that no effort on our part or no outside influence could prevent our ultimate absorption in the United States. Now this geographical axiom was cleverly put, and might seem true at a superficial glance. But I deny that it is proved either in history or in our own experience.

The map of Europe as a whole shows that the greatest antagonism and alienation exists between the countries bordering upon each other, such as France and Germany, Russia and Germany. Then the blending of the crosses on the Jack took, as Mr. Smith knows, a thousand years to accomplish; and its ultimate accomplishment then, under far different circumstances and conditions from those under which he would have Canada merge into the United States. The very blending of the crosses is even after all that time, a direct negative to Mr. Smith's philosophy, as it shows that it was no absorption, but a free union of three independent peoples, each maintaining its personality and ideals, under one flag, the blend of their several national banners. I am afraid Mr. Smith's argument is not worthy of his well-known historical outlook; and his illustration of the geographical propinquity idea is singularly unfortunate, as has been pointed out.

I am not such a fatalist, as he is, to believe that mere force of numbers and geographical considerations are the only forces left in the world. It is not only a challenge to the spirit of a free people, but an insult to their personality and worth to say that they are but the driftwood, the puppets of mere population and physical geography. I believe (and I think that I have studied the spirit and panorama of history as wisely as Mr. Smith, though not so long) that there are stronger forces in men than those of mere geographical considerations to unite them or keep them apart. And I believe that it is in the power of the Canadian people to keep themselves apart, as an individual people, as the Scotland of North America, for a thousand years to come, if God has a special work for them to perform. This is after all the secret of all true nationhood, aside from a strong conservative race-individuality. I know all Canadians feel in their hearts that we have gone too far forward as a separate individual people on this continent to lightly surrender all our individuality as a people. Small as we may be, great as are our problems, our difficulties to solve, we would answer that, as a people, as a Canadian community, from the Citadel of Quebec to the Yukon, from

Nova Scotia to British Columbia, two significant names, we are here to stay, and it will need a stronger argument than the geographical to convince the Canadian people otherwise; and a stronger force than mere territorial propinquity to destroy our hopes and spirit as an individual Canadian people.

We in Canada have to realize this world-force called Imperialism. We cannot, any more than could the Boer or the Mormon stand alone. We can no more get away from this world-influence as a people, than we can live without world-trade, world-news, and a myriad other world-influences which guide and fill our lives. If we are to be in the procession at all we must either choose for ourselves or be led as an inferior people. We have but one choice between two different imperialisms, that of Britain and that of the Imperial Commonwealth to the south. If we examine into the matter calmly, aside from other considerations, we cannot but see that if we ever hope ultimately to be a nation, we must in self-defence stay within the British Imperial system; whereas to enter that of the American means sheer annihilation of all our personality as a people. We will be merely a bundle of states added to the rest, and will lose everything we value, our laws, customs, political system; our whole identity as a people.

Whereas, if we stay in the British Imperial system as an integral part of it, we lose nothing, but keep all we have got, and have a chance, ultimately, of becoming a great individual community on the northern part of this continent. By remaining British, we do not cease to be Canadian. Our very remoteness from the great Imperial centre will in itself safeguard our own individuality as it has done in the past. The very ocean barrier which has been regarded as an obstacle will be a blessing rather than a curse to the Empire and to the sister states making up the Imperial whole. It is this very widespread condition of the British Empire which makes her the one possible ideal union of independent peoples.

On the other hand the American Imperialism has many attendant dangers, springing out of the country's very compactness. The Imperial control of a vast continent such as this by one dominant force is not a very satisfactory thing to contemplate. It is absurd to think that the American Republic will always remain a bundle of separated States, as it now is, any more than it was to be expected that its original republican ideal could forever remain. We have seen that original ideal largely superseded; and we will also see in time the present State demarcations disappear. Even to-day many of the States count for little in the control of the whole. We have for years heard more of a Solid South, the West and the North, than we have of State individuality. There is a strong possibility of a gradual coming together of certain portions of the country in groups of States; and this would be a great improvement in the rule of the country and less costly to the people. As the Canadian population develops more and more in the West, this will be also necessary in some of our Eastern Provinces. There is nothing more absurd than many of these local Governments, and much of our political corruption arises out of their petty condition. This is especially true of the States. If, as Mr. Smith seems to feel, the ultimate fate of Canada is to become a part of the North American Federation; if, I repeat, such a fate is intended to be the destiny of this country in some distant period of the future, then how much better it would be to postpone that date until, under such a condition as I have described here, we might be able as a large and powerful community to dictate our terms, and like Scotland's relationship to England, still retain our personality, socially and politically, as a Canadian people.

Our choice in short is Imperialism or Imperialism. The wise Canadian, aside from all other considerations, will choose that Imperialism which is the freest and best, namely the one which will advance and develop Canada as an independent country and our people into a great and important branch of the British peoples. Let us be true to our independence in the Empire, but let it be the independence of self-respect, of a mature, not a childish people. Let it be the independence of a responsibility to ourselves and the Empire. Let it be a sane, generous spirit of self-sacrifice, such as the relation that a well-regulated, well-to-do household would bear toward the immediate community which it helps to compose; not a false independence of suspicion, distrust and antagonism eternally straining toward separation.

We must realize sooner or later that no true patriotism is ever built upon or fostered in hatred. A mere negative patriotism is none, and the greatest weakness of the destructive period of the democracy has been its element built upon hate. The sane, hopeful ideal of Imperialism is one that should permeate our people. It would raise us out of the narrow slough of mere localism, that political and social slayer of any people, and make of us finally, what we hope to be one day, a great nation. But we must work to create a common sentiment in a great Imperial ideal; for without a common sentiment of feeling, the Empire, as it stands to-day, cannot last.

Remembering Empire's bounds
Not larger than the loyalty that upholds,
Not wider than the speech that makes us one,
Not greater than the pride of common dreams,
Of common blood, of common faith and song;

For vain the splendour and the freedom vast,
And vain the iron power that makes it sure,
And vain the mighty toil that would endure,
If love be not the anchor that withstands.

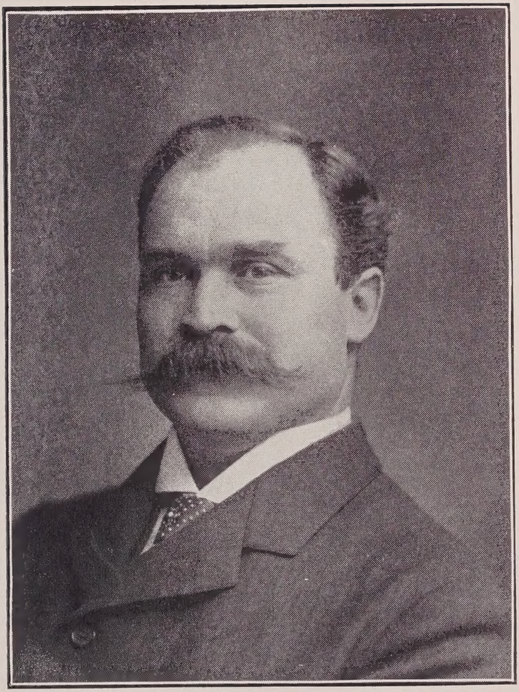
CANADIAN INDUSTRIES, PREFERENCE AND RECIPROCITY.

Address by Mr. W. K. George, of Toronto, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, on Thursday, December 1st, 1904.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I thank you very much for your kind reception, and I can assure you that I regard it not only as an honour but as a very great privilege to have been invited to address the Empire Club, and I say that in all sincerity because I have the very highest idea of the possibilities for good of such an organization as is represented here. In the first place I am going to ask you to give me your kind indulgence. I realize of course that the honour of this invitation is due to the fact that I fill the position of President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and, being a believer in the old adage that the shoemaker should stick to his last, I have chosen as my subject today that phase of Canadian life with which I am identified, and I wish to speak to you on Canadian Industries, Preference and Reciprocity. I recognize, gentlemen, that this is rather a heavy dessert to offer you, and more particularly on a limit of thirty minutes time, so that all I can attempt to do will be to touch rather hurriedly and somewhat superficially on some of the outstanding features of these questions, and I will have to leave it to yourselves to evolve and develop the details. I trust that what I say, dry and matter-of-fact as it must be, may prove sufficiently new to some of you to be interesting, and if it should be that, and if it should lead you to consider this question, and to start you seeking for a better and more thorough knowledge of these subjects, then I certainly will feel more than repaid for my labours in this connection.

I realize further that to an audience in Toronto such as this the propounding of the question: "Do you be-



Mr. W. K. George,
President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, 1904-5.

lieve that manufacturing industries are beneficial to the country?" is quite unnecessary. I believe further that nowadays you could hardly find in any part of Canada an audience that would not answer that question in a vociferous affirmative. Yet I think at the same time that I am equally safe in affirming that comparatively few in this audience, or in any other general audience in Canada, realize how largely our manufacturing industries already bulk in the commerce of our country, and I am therefore going to quote you some statistics taken from the annual address of my predecessor in office, Mr. George E. Drummond, in Montreal, at our Convention which was held there a month or two ago, and I would ask you, gentlemen, to kindly bear in mind that these figures are official. They were compiled and furnished by Mr. Blue, the Director of the Census Bureau, and there is no possibility of doubt as to their comparative correctness.

From the last Canadian Census, that of 1900, we find that the output of Canadian factories (employing five hands or over) was for that year $481,053,375.00; while on the other hand for the same year the combined value of the production of the agricultural, dairying, mineral, forest and fishing industries was $511,666,306.00, or only about $30,000,000 more than the value of manufactured goods produced in Canadian factories. And remember, as I said a moment ago, that these figures are based on returns of factories employing five hands or over. If we should do as was done in the former Census, that of 1890, and take a record of the output of establishments employing less than five hands, Mr. Blue estimates that, if the rates established in 1890 held good in 1900, then the output would be $132,050,000 more, which would bring the total to over $100,000,000 in excess of the combined production of agriculture, dairying, mining, forests and fisheries. This last is of course merely an estimate, and may be discarded if you so choose, but I think the former is surely sufficiently striking to enable you, in future, if any one should decry to you the comparative unimportance of

Canadian manufacturing industries, as is sometimes done, to tell him that he knows not whereof he speaks. So much for the relative importance of the manufacturing industries, and I have presented this to you, not for the purpose of detracting from those other and basic industries, but simply with the desire of giving to you a clearer idea of the real position which the manufacturing industries already hold in the commercial life of Canada.

My experience teaches me that almost every industry in Canada to-day is here on account of the measure of protection which has been afforded to it. And, gentlemen, if you will stop to consider it for a moment you will realize that that is so. In these days of easy communication and through transportation, when the factory in Leeds can lay down goods in Toronto at as low a freight rate as can the factory at Montreal; when the mill in Massachusetts can deliver goods in Winnipeg, Calgary or Vancouver, for less freight charges than can a similar plant in Toronto; I say, gentlemen, that you could neither establish nor maintain industries in Canada in the face of the fierce competition which they would have to encounter from either the cheap labour of Europe on the one hand, or from the tremendously developed, highly specialized, and thoroughly established industries of the United States on the other, unless you offset those advantages of our competitors by furnishing an adequate measure of protection to our Canadian industries. We believe that by a just and wise and fair revision of the tariff, bringing it up to present day necessities and conditions, a great increase and development could be made in Canadian industries which would be beneficial to all and burdensome to none.

There are some people who still talk of a tariff for revenue only. Gentlemen, let me say in my opinion for a country like Canada, young and richly endowed, but largely undeveloped, a tariff for revenue only would be the greatest folly. If the tariff was not high enough to be protective and thus lead to the establishment and development of home industries, it would simply increase the cost to the consumer by the percentage of the duty, without in any way building up our own country. It would keep neither our men nor our money at home. I had the pleasure of listening to the Right Hon. John Morley when he was here, and I heard him expounding some theories. And I see that he has also been expounding some theories in New York, and I read in the papers a few mornings ago that they "laughed at Mr. Morley" when he said: "I have seen nothing in your country to make me believe that you wouldn't have been just as great, just as mighty, just as prosperous as you are to-day if you had taken as your motto 'Tariff for Revenue only.'" And we are told that his statement was received with roars of laughter. Do you wonder at it? Can you imagine, gentlemen, a man of his supposed ability and powers of observation being unable to see all around him evidences demonstrating the absurdity of that statement? He looked on the finished results and considered not the cause.

I will give you just one example (you could find hundreds of them), to illustrate to you how blind the Right Honourable gentleman was, and I use this one because I had some personal knowledge of the case in point; and also because it illustrates in a very concise and striking manner the difference in results achieved between a merely revenue tariff and one that was sufficiently protective. I lived in the United States for some years, and was at one time engaged in a business using a large quantity of tin plate. At that time there was no tin plate manufactured in the United States; it was all imported from Great Britain, and the imports in 1890 amounted to 750,000,000 pounds weight. There was a duty on tin plate at that time of one cent per pound. It acted merely as a revenue duty and increased the cost to the consumer without inducing the United States manufacturers to go into the making of tin plate in competition with the already established plants in Great Britain. There was considerable criticism from those to whom tin plate was a raw material, and a demand arose for the removal of the duty. But Mr.

McKinley in effect said, "No, the trouble is that the duty is not high enough to produce the desired result"; and in the Bill which became famous under his name he more than doubled the duty on tin plate, making it 2·2 cents per pound. What was the result? For two years the price remained practically stationary, and then as the American factories developed, the price went down, and from that time on the price has been lower than it was prior to the imposition of the higher duty; and the outcome is that instead of importing 750,000,000 pounds as they did fifteen years ago, they are now manufacturing a thousand million pounds annually, which is greater by several million than Great Britain's output, and represents a value of about $75,000,000 per annum, and gives employment to about 25,000 hands.

That, gentlemen, is I think a fairly striking example of the difference in results produced as between a revenue and a protective tariff. A great industry has been built up; the cost has been reduced to the consumer, and at least $75,000,000 per annum kept in the country. And yet Mr. Morley states that he believes that they would have been just as prosperous under a revenue tariff. Of course, gentlemen, there is one thing Mr. Morley could have pointed out to them. Provided that all the other items had remained stationary, there would have been a falling off in their total trade returns of at least $75,000,000 per year and, therefore, they would appear to be losing ground. Gentlemen, let me warn you against unthinkingly accepting comparative total trade returns as indicative of a country's progress or the reverse, as is so frequently done. It is a good deal like adding a man's income and his expenditure together as the volume of his total trade. As for instance: suppose that my income last year was $100,000 (I'll confess to you that it wasn't) and that I spent $50,000, my total trade returns, figured as the imports and exports are, would be $150,000. Now suppose that this year my income was again $100,000, but that my expenditure was $150,000, my total trade returns would be $250,000, and the unthinking man would say: "Why you have made great progress, your total trade returns have increased from $150,000 last year to $250,000 this year, I congratulate you." But I think, gentlemen, that it would be progress of a kind that would land me in the poor-house. (Laughter and applause.) And so it will be with any nation whose imports constantly exceed its exports. Therefore, I say: "Do not accept unthinkingly total trade returns as an estimate of a nation's prosperity."

And now, gentlemen, regarding the Preference, I will repeat what I have said on a former occasion. "Our Association has been criticized extensively on account of the stand which we have taken in regard to Imperial Preferential Trade, and we have been charged with insincerity because we have advocated Preferential Trade on the basis that the minimum tariff should be protective to Canadian industries. We will stand by that declaration, and we contend that it is no visionary proposition. Any other basis would be injurious to Canada, and not only injurious to Canada, but for that very reason detrimental to the ultimate progress of the Empire. We believe that the greater and more prosperous Canada becomes, the better it is for the British Empire. Our critics base their conclusion on the false assumption that adequate protection to home industries prohibits all importation. Gentlemen, I ask you to look to our nearest neighbour for a convincing proof that such is not the case. In spite of their extremely high tariff they are still importing hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of goods. And so it would be with Canada, and as our country grows in population and in wealth, so would this commerce increase, and we wish to turn it as far as possible into British channels."

I received a Birmingham paper yesterday from that loyal Canadian who is representing his country truly and well in that city. I refer to Mr. Peter Ball, and I am going to read you some extracts from it, because it puts the position very clearly. The correspondent writes: "The Canadian manufacturer is no fool; he understands as well as anybody that Canada is still young as a manufacturing country, and feels that if she pulled down her tariff barriers Great Britain and the United States would with their bigger markets, cheaper production, and longer training, swamp Canadian manufacturers and never give them a chance to rise again. Therefore, the Canadian, wisely from his point of view, because he comes late into the contest as a manufacturer, guards himself with heavy tariffs. The British people should, therefore, clearly understand that, although the Canadian loves the Empire, though he is willing to make sacrifices for the defence of the Empire—a subject I intend to deal with in a later article—he does not intend to penalize himself to the extent of a single dollar for the benefit of the British manufacturer. 'And where will the preference to British goods come in?' is a question now to be legitimately asked. The answer is: 'On the surplus of articles needed in Canada, and which Canada cannot supply.' Canada spends millions of pounds in imported articles from foreign countries, chiefly the United States. She wants to raise her present high tariff against the States still further, and so as far as possible, make Canada, when she must buy from outside the Dominion, buy from Great Britain. We spend millions of money in the States every year, buying articles we are not sufficiently advanced to make ourselves. We want you to have those millions."

Gentlemen, those extracts give you a somewhat concise idea of our conception of a Preferential Tariff which will be beneficial to Britain without being detrimental to the advancement and development of Canada. Whether that Preference is to be met with a Reciprocal one from Great Britain is another question, and that must be answered by Great Britain from her own standpoint. We want it clearly understood that if Great Britain decides that it is not to her advantage to give it, then we don't want it. We are begging no favours, and asking no sacrifices. Canada has progressed without a preference in the past; she is prosperous without it in the present, and the lack of it in the future cannot prevent her onward march. It is, as I have said, for them to say.

They tell us that it would necessitate their abandoning Free Trade, the policy under which they are so prosperous. Again I repeat, it is for them to decide; but as an onlooker I sometimes wonder if they as a country really are so prosperous under Free Trade, and I am led to that wonderment especially when I read such statements as one made by a High Priest of Cobdenism who was lately here. I refer to the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, who, when speaking in opposition to the proposal to put a duty of one shilling and three pence a quarter on wheat —which has been computed to equal a tax of eighteen pence per head per annum on the population of Great Britain—stated that: "While it would be a heavy tax on a great proportion of the people, yet when you came to that lower strata, that one-third of the population of the British Isles which is constantly living on the verge of starvation, to them it means reduced subsistence, frequent want, weakness of body and susceptibility to disease." That surely is an unhappy picture of a prosperous country, and for my part I would like to think that it was to some extent at least only an outburst of theoretical rhetoric. I think you will acknowledge that he was well answered by Col. Denison, when in reply he said that "In protectionist Canada and in protectionist United States there was no man who worked who could not, and very few who did not, spend more per week on amusements than the sum which per annum was going to reduce one-third of the population of Great Britain to a condition of reduced subsistence, frequent want, weakness of body and susceptibility to disease."

Gentlemen, once more I repeat that it is for them to decide. I can only say that if it was in Canada, long before we could have reached that condition, there would have been an outcry of "anything for a change" which would have demolished several old idols. While I do not say whether or not Great Britain should enter into reciprocal preferential arrangements with the Colonies for her own local betterment, yet I do say that I think that she should for the sake of the Empire. Gentlemen, neither you nor I need any incentive to our loyalty to the British Empire. We have never known any other allegiance, and we never will. (Applause.) But as our country fills up—attracting as it undoubtedly will millions of people from foreign lands—we will find that a large proportion of our population knows no sentimental tie for British connection. They will be loyal Canadians —there is no doubt of that—but there is no reason why they should be loyal to the Imperial connection, and for the maintenance of the Empire I believe it is vital that these newcomers should realize that there is a material advantage to them from living under the British flag. Show them that, and you will very quickly generate a kindly feeling which by the next generation at least would become one of loyalty. That may appear a materialistic way. I believe that it would be a practical way. I believe that it would be an effectual way. If a better way can be suggested, I am ready to receive it. I have no doubt, as I said, about our newcomers being loyal to Canada, I have no doubt of Canada's future as a great and prosperous country, but I want it to ever remain loyal to and a part of that Empire which will not only enrich but dominate it for all that is best for humanity.

In reference to United States Reciprocity all I can now say must be very brief. I do not believe that there is any general sentiment in Canada to-day in favour of Reciprocity with the United States. (Loud applause.) Canada has learned that her material prosperity does not depend upon reciprocal trade relations with the country to the south of us. She knows that she has in her world-wide British connection markets for all her surplus products, and markets which would be much safer. I do not believe that our friends to the south would enter into any treaty with us which did not give to them the long end of the stick. And there would be dangers. I am not so much afraid of it leading to absorption, though I think that some of them have that in mind, as I am of the disastrous effect on our commerce which might some day result. It would be an artificial market, and it might be swept away at a moment's notice by the caprice of the rulers in the States, and that would be a most unfortunate condition after our channels of trade had been established.

I would like to quote from what our friend, the Hon. G. W. Ross, has said on this matter: "I prefer looking to a market that is natural, that is almost inexhaustible in its demand upon whatever we have to sell; a market where our friend stands and takes toll, not an opponent; a market where no natural or artificial condition that we can see is likely to be impaired at the caprice of either of the parties." Gentlemen, if the United States wants more of our goods they can very easily get them. They can take off their tariff if it suits them without our entering into any entangling or disastrous alliance with them. My time is fully up, I see. I thank you very sincerely for the kindly hearing which you have given me.

THE FIRST GREAT ENGLISH IMPERIALIST.

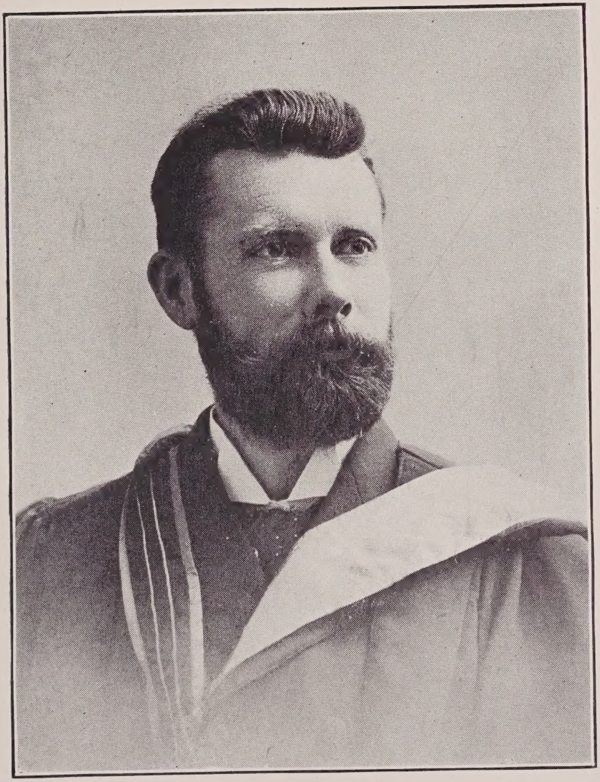
Address by Professor D. R. Keys, of Toronto University, on December 8th, 1904.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—

I would introduce this subject by a little anecdote. Most of you have seen that picture of Du Maurier's in which there is a real English couple sitting at one end of a bench, Edwin and Angelina, and on the other end of the bench is a bilious old gentleman. Edwin says to Angelina, "Darling?" Angelina answers, "What, darling?" Edwin replies, "Nothing, only darling? darling?" and the old gentleman at the other end of the bench shows signs of being sick. Now, this little incident is related to show you that I have only one subject. I have only to deal with England's darling. Who England's darling is I presume you all know. It is a very old subject; it is one that is pretty well worn, though some may be disappointed when they hear who the man is about whom I would like to say a little to-day. My subject is Alfred the Great, King of the Anglo-Saxons, whom I claim to have been the first great English Imperialist.

Now, a few words first about Alfred's life. I take it for granted that you know a great deal about Alfred's life. but it may be worth while to refresh your memories a little. It is some time since some of us were at school. Alfred the Great was the son of King Ethelwulf, who was the son of King Egbert, the first English king. He was descended, according to the English Chronicles, from Adam—which is a claim that most of us may make. His descent from Adam was however more particularly manifest than most of us can make it, because every one of the forty-five individuals who lay between him and Adam has his name given in the old Chronicles.

His mother, Osberga, was the daughter of the King's butler. She went back through a series of generations, which are not given to us in the Chronicles, to the great



Professor D. R. Keys,
University of Toronto.

Cerdic, one of the early Saxon kings; so that Alfred had also descended from the royal connection of Wessex, and he was the descendant of two of the early conquerors who landed in England in the sixth century. Alfred's mother died. Ethelwulf, his father, was a very excellent King. It seems, however, that in his later years he lost that common sense which characterized him in his earlier years, for when his wife died he married Judith, a girl who was about twelve years of age, and whom he left a widow about two years after. Then, a very extraordinary thing happened. This Judith married the eldest remaining son of her former husband, a thing almost unexampled in history. Two years after that he died also, and she went home to her father, the King of France, Charles the Bald, and was still able to make a runaway match with Baldwin, Forester of France, before she was twenty years of age. This you will remember was Alfred's stepmother. She was supposed to be the heroine of that story of the book. Alfred was presented with a beautiful book by his mother, having at once won it by a very rapid learning of all its contents, which showed that he was a good boy to "cram."

Alfred, as a youth, was brought up under the most excellent auspices. He had this good father and mother. It is a good thing to choose your parents well; and if you can choose your grandparents, so much the better. Alfred having chosen his parents well, was well educated. His father sent him to Rome when a boy of four or five years old. You, gentlemen, being commercial men and knowing the difficulty of travel, will be able to appreciate what it meant for Alfred when only a boy of five, taking that long journey, which was much more difficult in those days than travelling around the world would be to-day. Going through France, visiting the Court of Charles—where on his return the father met Judith and married her—then through Provence, and across the Alps, which was in those days a journey of great peril; then down through the Provinces of Italy until he came to Rome itself.

At that time Rome was under the rule of Pope Leo IV., the one who originated the Leonine City, the city in which St. Peter's Church is; which has been, and is, the centre of Roman influence; for there the Vatican is. Leo's name is preserved in the name of that city. He was also the pope from whom the Peter's Pence took their name, because this same father of Alfred, Ethelwulf, left his money largely to the Church. He set aside one-third of it which was to be perpetually devoted to keeping up certain of the churches—two of the churches in Rome, St. Peter's and St. Paul's. These two churches had been plundered and desecrated by the Saracens when they attacked Rome in 847. Leo IV. directed his efforts to the restoration of these churches and it was for this purpose Ethelwulf presented his gifts to the Papal purse. This early training that Alfred got, it would appear, was rather through his observation than from books. We read that he did not learn from or see books until he was twelve years old. In view of his subsequent success the early training that we give our children nowadays may seem a little overdone. The parents who teach children when they are too young at the present time do not give them a chance to get their growth.

I don't want to worry you with facts, gentlemen. I haven't got you yet to his marriage. He grew up with a good deal of strenuousness. He seems to have been as strong a candidate for the "strenuous life" as our great hero across the line, President Roosevelt, because we read that on his reaching the age of manhood he prayed—being very pious—that some great affliction might come upon him in order to keep him from becoming too much uplifted. His prayer was answered, for on the occasion of his own marriage he fell in an epileptic fit, and these fits came upon him at intervals during his life. His great efforts were therefore made under the tremendous stress of permanent ill-health, and he never knew the moment when he might be stricken down by his mysterious foe. Alfred came to the throne a little after his marriage, at a time when England was having dark days. In the early part of that century, the ninth, England had been a centre of light for Europe. With Ireland she had sent missionaries to Germany, Prussia and Scandinavia. Those two western Islands were centres of civilization; the rest of Europe being in a state of dissolution owing to the furious and devastating invasions of the Saracens. At the time of Alfred's coming to the Throne this position had been reversed. England was practically in the hands of the Danes.

It was Alfred's task to rid his country of these invaders. It was an enormous task. I couldn't tell you how he did it. Battle after battle was fought, until the great Battle of Ethandune when thousands of Danes were slain, and in that year, the year 878, the famous Convention of Wedmore was signed, and Guthrum, the Danish King, was baptized, and the incorporation of the Danes with Christendom was secured. Then began a new era, peace reigned in England for a number of years, and the King was able to devote his attention to the wants of his country. He showed that he had a very strong, firm hand, and proved himself to be a man of admirable qualities in every way. One thing he had to do was to make the Judges do their duty. One thing he did was to hang forty-four judges. What he would have done to the stuffers of ballot boxes I don't know. (Laughter.) In this way, in a very short time, he put down iniquity in high places and, of course, as a natural result iniquity disappeared in the lower orders of society. England became so well governed that it is said—as the old story goes which you may have seen a hundred times—that you could hang up bracelets at night by the roadside, and come back the next morning and find them. Human life was as safe as human property, and this after a time during which England was worse than the United States is to-day. I was told by your good Secretary that during the last three years there were 32,000 murders in the United States, more murders than occurred in the legitimate way in the battles of the Boer War. A terrible fact! I have no doubt that England was worse off than the United States is when Alfred came to the throne.

Alfred put down all lawlessness during those years from 878 to 891.

The next thing Alfred did was to endeavour to educate his people, and this he did by bringing in the best men he could find from all parts of the civilized world. Thus he brought scholars from France, from Prussia and from those other countries from which scholars were to be obtained, and among others he brought in John Scotus Erigena, claimed by some of us to have been Irish, and by some to have been Scotch. Perhaps he came from the North of Ireland, whence, it is said, come the best kind of Scotchmen. A famous joke made by this John Scotus Erigena, this Irishman from Scotland, or Scotchman from Ireland—he was very witty—was when he was at table with King Charles the Bald. Charles wanted to be witty at the expense of Scotus, and said: "What is the difference between a sot and a Scot?" Scotus, who was sitting opposite, said: "The width of the table, Sire." I don't think Charles appreciated this humour, for John Scotus took his flight from France not long after, and went over to England where he was one of those men I have spoken of as being called by Alfred in order to train the English people. Alfred took his best scholars from where he could get them, a wise thing to do. Now, I find that my time is flying very fast. I must give you briefly the character of this Alfred. What he did was not merely to bring scholars to teach his people, but he translated himself by the aid of those scholars the best books he could find for his people. He translated for them the history and geography of Orosius. He also made his own geography, sending out expeditions into the North Sea and the Baltic. He afterwards translated into English from the Latin the famous work of Pope Gregory, "Pastoral Care," which was written by the Pope with the object of training priests for their work—a book of admirable qualities, as anybody who likes to read it will see, a book that shows you all the tact and skill of the great Gregory from whom it came. Alfred wanted to have books in English as well as in the original language.

His purpose was to raise the quality of the people intellectually; he being a man of high intellect himself we know by the way in which he applied the knowledge which he gained.

Very shortly after the period of which I am now speaking—I am speaking of 892—the Danes made another incursion. Under the great Hastings they came over to land in England. They had been landing in France without difficulty, and they thought they would do the same thing in England. The invaders came ashore in two places, and advanced up the Thames and Lea rivers. Alfred got the waters of the Lea turned from their natural bed and left the Danish boats high and dry. Having thus cut his enemies off from the sea he proceeded to surround them and as a result he fairly wiped them out. Not long after there was another incursion, and Alfred showed his power in another line; showed himself to be the first of the great English naval heroes. Another fact is lost sight of in claiming greatness for Alfred. He invented a new kind of ship. He made a ship that was longer and stronger and swifter in every way than those of the invaders—just as the English have been doing for the last half century in connection with their trans-Atlantic vessels—and by this larger vessel he managed to defeat his opponents. The last few years of Alfred's life were spent in the repose that he had well earned, and he died in the year 901, leaving as a legacy, not only what I have told you, but certain other things which I will now dwell upon to some slight extent.

The application of these lessons is pretty clear. I think some of you have seen what the application would be as I have been speaking. I have not spoken of one of the very important acts of Alfred, the foundation of the City of London. We have spoken of him as a man who showed insight. Now, here you notice he really showed the same insight that Alexander the Great did when he founded Alexandria, which was in the centre of his Empire. Alfred showed his far-sightedness by founding the City of London which before his time had been wiped out by the incursions of the Danes. The Canadians are not far from Alfred in some respects. Probably the population of Canada is about that of the population of England in the days of Alfred. We, like England in those days, lie away to the north of the ordinary travel. We should, like Alfred, make Canada the centre of the world's trade. Certain natural advantages will help us to attain that end. For many centuries the Mediterranean was the centre of the world's commerce; then the Atlantic during the last hundred years has been the centre. In the near future it is quite evident that the Pacific will be the great centre. America is going to stand between Europe on the one hand and Asia on the other. We have an admirable position. We stand on the highway of commerce across the North American Continent between Europe and Asia. We can ourselves "hold the fort" if we have enough intelligence and—what shall I say—enterprise to do it. It requires the application of Alfred's policy in founding London, and the making of Toronto an ocean port. If our business men in Toronto would but take this matter up seriously it might be that in three or four years the canals should be deepened and Toronto would be sending ships all over the world as London does. That being done Toronto might be the centre of the world's commerce at no very distant date. It is a matter of human enterprise.

Another of the lessons that Alfred's life teaches us is that of the obligation of conscience. That lesson was one which showed Alfred more than an Englishman—a Christian. The English race is, take it all in all, a race of brave men, as Alfred was brave. It is a race of wise men, as Alfred was wise. It is a race which does not know defeat—it never knows when it is beaten, as Alfred did not know when he was beaten. Alfred showed that courage which the English race has showed all through its history, and may have reason to show again before very long in the dark days which may be ahead of England. We, as Canadians, of course have English blood in our veins, and we may be thankful that the English race is also like Alfred in their benevolent qualities. Alfred's benevolence was perhaps his greatest and highest excellence. London is the great centre of charitable effort for the world. Alfred's benevolence was illustrated by the fact that he left a will emancipating his slaves—another English trait. In Alfred's day slavery was a recognized institution, and could not be done away with in general, but Alfred set the example of freeing his own slaves. An American humorist might say he had no further use for them.

As Alfred wanted to teach his people in their own language I might say it behooves our Government to follow his example in that way, and see that the English language is taught in the most scientific manner. We live in the greatest epoch in the world's history, and it behooves us especially, as Canadians, to take to ourselves thought as to these lessons taught by Alfred's life. In the morning's paper it has been stated that England is going to withdraw the last soldier from Canada. I haven't the least doubt we will be able to defend Canada, and have been able for a long time. But this is something more than that. What is the position of Canada to-day? We occupy a position on the north of this continent, which makes Canada as I have said, the centre of the world at the present time; and more and more the centre of the world as time goes on. We have to the south of us a great nation, a nation which has had the nineteenth century as its century, but will not Canada have the twentieth century for its century? Well, I will be glad to see Canada in the twentieth century take the place the United States has taken in the nineteenth. The United States is still there. How are we going to stand in relation to the United States? Are we going to be swallowed up by the United States? Are we going to stand hostile to the United States? I hardly see how we can stand in the relation to the United States of having hostility between us; that is hardly possible. Let us at any rate act as I think we can act, and we may act, for in my opinion the part of Canada is the greatest part.

It is to promote Anglo-Saxon unity, that we all may be united together, the Englishman, the Australian and the American, in the interests of humanity; the Anglo-Saxon world will then stand against the whole world. I do not mean to intimate by this that I believe in annexation; I do not believe in annexation, but I believe it is the role of Canada to increase the good feeling of the great nation to the south of us to the British Empire. Gentlemen, I say that if we maintain ourselves here as we may and can do, and as we shall do, we will show the world what it is to live in harmony with another great nation on the same continent; and the two great nations living together on this continent in peace and amity will be an object lesson to the rest of the world which will teach the benefits of peace as plainly as at the present time that terrible war being carried on in the East is an object lesson of the terrors of war. Then, let us endeavour to show to the world two nations on this continent living together in peace, without any quarrelling, without any paltry jealousies and bickerings, and this will help in the building up of civilization throughout the world.

CONDENSED MILITARISM IN CANADA.

Address by Captain A. T. Hunter, B.A., B.C.L., on Thursday, December 15th, 1904.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Empire Club,—

I take it that all true Canadians mean the same thing; whether they be English or French or plain, peace-loving Irish, and whether or not they love or resent being called Imperialists; and that this same thing which we all mean is that Canada shall be able to defend herself. But defence, that is to say Militia, is one thing, and Militarism is quite a different thing. Just as chivalry was one thing and quixotism was quite a different thing. I shall not define Militarism, but I shall give you a few illustrations of it which is better than defining it. For instance, the genius of an inventor produces a rifle with a barrel so good that its bullet will carry two miles and will go with surprising directness for fifteen hundred yards. A Militarist takes this rifle, equips it with sights that can hit a six-foot target at 600 yards, and he serves it out to other Militarists who are carefully instructed in a series of complementary flourishes called the Manual and who are also taught a so-called firing exercise by men who have excellent voices but who can't shoot.

If a Militarist were asked to build a brick wall he would arrive on the scene with a corps of bricklayers who would march as one man, who would carry the trowel every man in the right hand with elbows close to the side, every trowel sloped at the same angle; the only thing they wouldn't have been taught would be to lay bricks. Give a Militarist a wide-rimmed hat—I am coming to an illustration you may see not far sometimes from the streets of Toronto—give him a wide-rimmed hat to protect his face from the weather and the sun and he will cock up one side of it, rakishly fastening it with a cockade, so as to let the sun in on his face when he shoots. If you see a poor fool in uniform doing some particularly silly thing in a solemn and painstaking way, and you ask him why, he will tell you, "that is regulation," or else "that is regimental," or that "they do it thus in the Rifles," or some other thing that is about as useful for you as if he gave you the pass-word into the deaf and dumb lodge. Militarism has been called a burden in Europe. If Militarism is a burden to European countries it is a crime in Canada. For this reason—that in Canada the virus of Militarism has ten-fold strength. Consider!

To prepare any nation for defence there are two main requisites—time and money. Money to buy soldiers food and equipment and to pay their wages. Time to train them for defence. Now, the amount of money available in Canada, whether we include the money that the Government will spend or if we add to it the money that private individuals, officers or otherwise, will spend, is a very limited fund. Therefore every dollar spent in Canada on useless military things is a dollar stolen from the defence of Canada. And of time: we have for the training of the greater portion of the Canadian Militia a nominal twelve days per annum, or its equivalent in evening drills for City Corps. Therefore every hour spent in useless movements is a theft from the defence of Canada. And in both cases the thief is the Militarist, and what he steals neither benefits him nor can be made good by any mortal man or Government. Let me give you an illustration. After all the experience of the Boer War the regulation equipment of a Canadian Infantry officer is a sword! We laugh at the Chinese for training their men in archery, but if you had watched this year, or last year, any Company of the Rural Militia of Canada marching down your streets to take the Niagara boat you would have seen a Captain and perhaps two Lieutenants armed with swords marshalling their host of six or eight non-coms and one or two privates.

Now in the Imperial Army this sword business does very little harm. The English officer has an abundance of loose time on his hands. He might as well spend some of that loose time in learning sword tricks as in playing polo or baccarat or some other game of skill. To the German officer a sword is even a convenience for running civilians through. But to an officer in the Canadian Militia this $16 piece of stage cutlery is an unqualified nuisance. I tell you it takes quite a few hours of training before the Canadian officer knows properly the ways of drawing, carrying, sloping, saluting with, and returning, that very awkward and useless implement, a sword. He never gets to the distance of learning how to fence with it. Those same hours of training would enable a competent lecturer, one who had taken part in some recent war, to teach those officers how the men were formed up and proceeded on the day of such and such a recent battle; how they posted an outpost on some day in South Africa and it had a useful result; how they occupied a position on some day when the enemy were beaten back; and what went wrong on some day when the enemy were not beaten back. In fine, it would enable the lecturer to teach those officers a sort of formation that might save the lives of the boys who had been entrusted to their care. Every hour we spend on this sort of business, owing to the limited number of hours that any Canadian Militia officer, outside of the Permanent Corps, has to spend, is just as dangerous a form of embezzlement as if we allowed the stealing of ammunition from the magazines. You will see then what I mean by condensed militarism, and that is that owing to our military poverty of time and money any foolish or absurd custom that we adhere to strikes our defence forces with concentrated force.

I might use another illustration if I thought it would do any good. I might refer to our use or fad, rather, of uniforms. I will only go this far to-day, however, and that is to say that on the outbreak of a war it would be better for Canada not to try to put her troops into uniform, but to send them into the fields in their workaday clothes. Nearly all the money that is spent in Canada on uniforms appears to be spent with the view of making an enemy feel like an infanticide for shooting so easy a mark. After the outbreak of a war it would take at least a month to put service uniforms on 100,000 Canadian Militia, and by that time the ballots would have been counted. But there is another matter that is still more harmful, and that is our perpetual changes in drill. The general public will have noted without much perturbation that the Department of Militia have called in the Dundonald Drill Books and reverted to the use of the text-books in use in His Majesty's Army. This move, while it has not perceptibly affected the price of wheat, has a certain significance. It marks a return to the policy pursued by all Administrations of faithfully heeling in the footsteps of the English War Office and adopting without consideration every change of fashion in English Military life. I cannot speak for the olden times. I am not personally familiar with the Militia in those ancient days of ten years ago, but since the present Administration has come into power there have been the following changes in our drill books:

No. 1. We discarded the old books and we adopted the Infantry Drill, 1896. Signed Wolseley.

No. 2. We discarded No. 1 and we adopted the Infantry Training, Provisional, 1902. Signed Roberts, F.M.

No. 3. We discarded No. 2 and we adopted the Infantry Training, Canada, 1904. Signed Dundonald, M.G.

No. 4. We discarded No. 3 and returned to No. 2.

Now there is no intrinsic reason why anyone other than a Canadian Militiaman should know the Canadian Infantry drill. It is very unlikely that we shall have appointed Imperial officers with Lieutenant-Colonelcies of subordinate command in Canadian Infantry Regiments. The temper of our Military people is alien to that sort of thing. It is true that in case of active service Imperial officers may take the command of Brigades or Divisions or even Armies of Canadian troops, but then, there are no formal words of command for Brigades or Divisional movements except in ceremonial. So you see there is no advantage in our being so extremely deferential to the English in matters of drill.

Mr. Castell Hopkins: Is there any disadvantage?

Mr. Hunter: I will show you that this continual changing, this ever-changing uniformity, costs us pretty dear. Now, we are careful not to preserve uniformity in some other respects. For instance, the Canadian Government does not see any intrinsic reason why it should adopt the English Army rifle. On the contrary it has adopted the Ross rifle which, while using the same ammunition as the English Army rifle, appears to be a superior weapon. The adoption of that rifle, the Ross rifle, will necessitate some changes in that part of the drill known as the Rifle Manual and Firing Exercises. That part of the drill will have to be revised on a Canadian basis—a sort of Ross Bible.

The rest of the drill can be divided, like ancient Gaul, into three parts. First, the Movements, Formations and Words of Command necessary to bring a body of men to the edge of the combat. Second, Tactics of Combat. Third, the Ceremonial. Now the public has had its ears dinned with the statement that our drill must be revised to meet the experience of recent engagements and to keep up with the improvement in military weapons. That is true only of Part 2, the Tactics of Combat. The Tactics of Combat must be revised year by year to keep pace with the increasing range, accuracy and rapidity of rifles and artillery, and the increasing skill in the use of those weapons. The other parts do not need to be changed. The other parts, the ceremonial and the non-tactical drill, occupy by far the greater portion of the time that is taken up in instruction and in learning. Teaching men, forming them into squads, and teaching them the salutings, the turnings, the marching straight, or oblique, or to a flank; forming fours, sections, companies, and then marching as a battalion; and after a certain degree of steadiness has been obtained showing off their proficiency in a march-past and a review—these things occupy much the greater portion of the time that is taken up in the evening drills of our City regiments and in the annual training of our Rural battalions.

One great beauty about this non-tactical drill is that it is essentially military. The actual fighting in the field can be performed as well, sometimes better, by men who have had no such training. The performance of this non-tactical drill when under the fire of modern rifles or artillery is no longer even thinkable, although General Hart is said to have practiced a little of it at the Battle of Colenso. Another great beauty about this non-tactical drill is that while our Militarists revise the drill-book every five or six years so as to teach the movements differently, and under different words of command, still the movements all amount to the same as they did in the time of Julius Cæsar or Agamemnon. There is every reason to believe that Clearchus, when he marched his ten thousand Greeks in columns of two to embrace the Persians with all their numbers, may have followed even the detail in the Infantry Drill of 1896, or 1902, or else that in the Dundonald Drill of 1904. The chief difference would be in the clothes worn and in the words of command.

Mr. Castell Hopkins asked me whether there was any inconvenience arising. Let me tell you the effects of these changes of drill. They are simply to nullify the results of all the training that the country has paid for in previous times. Let me illustrate. When you march a body of troops along the average Canadian road, particularly the roads in Ontario with which we are familiar, it generally amounts to the same thing. We march them in columns of fours. Now there is no intrinsic reason why the able-bodied men of the Red River Expedition of '70 and the men of '85 and the men of the South African Contingents, and every mother's son of a Canadian that has had any drill anywhere since Confederation, should not be able to fall in, in the ranks, and march steadily in fours up to the place where the actual tactics of combat begin. But if you try to do it under the present system you would produce the most horrible confusion. Why? Because every few years they have revised the drill books, and these veterans, each batch of them, according to the date when he was drilled, would be waiting for certain executive words that never came. (Laughter.)

Take the boys that we drilled as recruits last June in Camp. I tell you that their training there makes them of less use to us, if we are to bring them out to-day under the present Drill-book as recently re-adopted, than if we had never trained them at all. The recruit of last June, if he comes out next June to get his share of Infantry training, provisional 1902, will earn a few cents more per diem than he did last June, and he will do these things to earn it: Twelve nominal days of training; one day spent coming, one day spent returning; one day is Sunday, when his instruction is spiritual. Leaving nine days for actual learning, unless we deduct reviews and inspections and rainy days. During these nine days of wonder our recruits will be required to do three things: First, to forget—a common requirement nowadays—to forget Dundonald's drill, both movements and words of command. Second, to learn the formations, movements and words of command in squad, company and battalion drill according to the Infantry Training of 1902. That is not all. Third, to lay all that aside and to learn entirely different formations for the purpose of the ceremonial according to the Infantry Training of 1896. These nine days of wonder!

And he will do all this, eat his meals, play foot-ball and lacrosse after drill hours, sing himself to sleep in his tent and be obedient and cheerful under it all. With sane direction and a little genuine honest rifle shooting he could beat the world. But, gentlemen, it is all wasted and frittered away at the present time without purpose and without result just because of our apish reverence for military customs and things that belong to a standing army and don't fit very well at that. What we need in Canada is a little red book that will stand for the next fifty years, with simple formations, no unnecessary movements, and as little ceremonial as possible. There are dozens of officers in Canada competent to write such a book. I would like to see the Government hire, say, three of them to write it, and once written let us stick to it as a hundred cents stick to the Canadian dollar. I thank you, gentlemen.

OUR NATIONAL OUTLOOK.

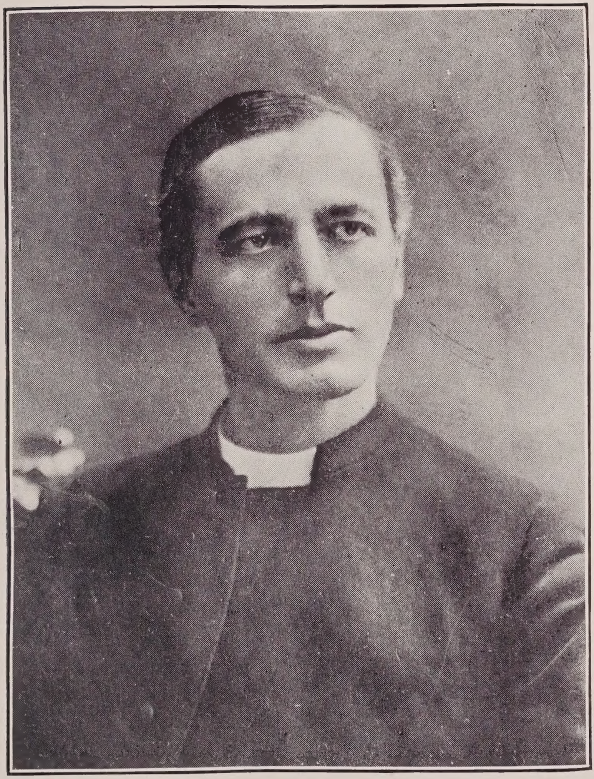
Address by the Rev. Dr. W. T. Herridge, of Ottawa, on Thursday, December 22nd, 1904.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I appreciate very much your kind invitation to be present to-day and the opportunity which you have given me of saying a few words, however fragmentary and imperfect, concerning the outlook before us as Canadians. The hopeful thing about Canada is that she has a future, and it seems to me that it will be our fault if it is not a brilliant future. With some older countries it is not so much a question of going forward as of holding the place which they have already.

We, as a people, are in the formative period of youth. Our first tasks, of course, had to be of a severely practical sort, and the sturdy pioneer, even though illiterate, might well seem better adapted for them than the most artistic dreamer. And it is scarcely to be wondered at that commercial standards of value should become dominant and that when any object is presented before the average citizen he should be less inclined to ask: "What will it teach me?" than: "How much is it worth?" Even though we do not worship the almighty dollar, few of us have learned to live on nothing a year. But as we gradually come to take a wider view of National relationships, the very crudeness of those initial ideas which the circumstances of a new country almost necessitate, will lead to far-reaching improvement; and therefore it seems to me that the main question before us is this: "Have we the materials for further progress? And if we have, do we intend to use them in the wisest and most healthy way?"

Now, while it is quite true that the chief assets of a nation do not lie in externals of any sort, that seems to me no reason why we should affect to despise them. When we consider our resources and the general condi-



Rev. W. T. Herridge, D.D.

tions of life around us, the most roseate optimism does not appear irrational. As concerns our purely material resources we are only just beginning to discover how great they are. A few years ago it was seriously doubted by the most sensible men whether our North-West could produce any wheat at all. Fifty million bushels will come out of it this year and as yet only a very small part of the productive area is under cultivation. I think it highly probable that many here will live to see the day when Canada becomes the chief granary of the British Empire, and it may be of the whole world.

Then again our mineral wealth—while I think, unfortunately, at times it has been brought into discredit by manufacturers of fraudulent prospectuses—is nevertheless undeniable, and with increased facilities for smelting and transportation the mining industry is sure to have a revival, and I dare say there will be some even in Toronto who will be glad when this happens. Our forests are so large that we scarcely go to the trouble of taking any care of them; our fish and game abound in plenty; our great inland seas and our broad rivers are designed year by year to be filled more and more with the carriers of commerce; the trans-continental railways which we have already, and the others, more or less numerous, which we shall have before many years go past, will furnish for us a choice of high-roads that open up the breadth and traverse the whole length of this Dominion. And when we turn from the merely material resources we have no reason to be discouraged, it seems to me, in other matters.

Our educational system is not by any means beyond criticism, either in its methods of administration or in its ideas. But if it has sometimes pressed utilitarianism to an extreme, on the other hand it at least makes complete illiteracy almost impossible amongst us. Even though some hard-headed people should have discovered that the study of Greek is commercially valueless, yet the three R's still flourish and possibly the time may come when we shall be persuaded that there are a few things which it is good for anyone to know even though they cannot be translated into bread and butter. We enjoy the blessings of a constitutional rule which has been broadened from precedent to precedent, and while there are some laws which in the course of time ought to be added to our Statute Book I think in the meantime we shall do very well if we take the trouble to respect and to enforce those which we have already. We are able to-day to worship God in such form and manner as conscience dictates, or, if we are so disposed, the State does not compel us to worship at all. Considering everything I know of no country which better holds the golden mean between thraldom and lawlessness; no country where an honest and industrious citizen has a fairer chance; no country which is more fitted to develop that spirit of patriotism which is not content with mere transient effervescence, or even with keeping both hands on the Union Jack, but which desires and is ready to strive, and if need be, to suffer, in order that the name "Canadian" may have an honourable place in the eyes of all the world.

You will, perhaps, Sir, pardon this commonplace review of some of our resources and the conditions which surround us, because I cannot help feeling that as Canadians we have scarcely yet emerged into full self-consciousness. There is no use blaming other people for not knowing us if we do not quite know ourselves. I do not envy the man who is not thrilled with pride as he contemplates our big inheritance. But, Sir, it is for the inheritors themselves to make it a great inheritance; making their country instead of expecting their country to make them. Though we are young, no doubt, it seems to me we are old enough to pass beyond mere panegyrics over what we have to serious consideration of what we ought to be. We shall have to guard against the mere vulgarity of dollars, against commercial subterfuge, against public or private vice, against everything which would check our national progress and prevent us from fulfilling our proper destiny. If we reject the fallacy that all men are equal, if we must worship something, if we feel that the artistic is needed in any civilization, then let us pay homage to wealth of intellect, or of character, and show that we regard an acute mind or a pure heart of greater value than simply a well-filled pocket. Industrial stocks, I am told, are proverbially fluctuating and conservative investors place them upon the speculative list. But, gentlemen, there is one industry whose intrinsic value cannot long be concealed by the most bearish assaults upon it, and that is the manufacture of the right kind of men.

And, Sir, in essaying this supreme task we shall surely be influenced most of all by the traditions which the Briton bequeaths to us. If imitation be the sincerest form of flattery, we sometimes flatter the United States, though I do not know that we always imitate the best features of American character. We can well afford to share their alertness, their enthusiasm, their strongly patriotic spirit, but I think we can do without some things which their own best citizenship repudiates: their yellow journalism, their grasping trusts—curious name—their political wiles, their boastful superficiality. Of course we must both of us be democratic, but I see no particular reason why we should court the perils of their form of democracy, while we are able to build up a more safe and abiding form of our own.

Any other relations than those of the utmost friendliness and good-will towards the great Republic would be in my judgment extremely foolish. Many of the people of the United States are of the same blood as we are. Many of our interests are identical with theirs. Many of their most valuable Institutions are modelled upon those which we inherit. We ought to rejoice in the marvellous strides which they are making, and in the sound common-sense and real worth which enable them to flourish in spite of certain tendencies which would be absolutely destructive of a weaker nation. Whatever views we may have held on questions of tariff and kindred matters—and none of you would think a parson competent to deal with them—I say whatever we may think of tariff matters and others of kindred character, we can well afford a reciprocity of effort to enthrone a self-respecting civilization on this great continent. And yet, as we begin to discern more and more clearly our own distinctive tasks, it seems to me that the annexationist will become, what in truth he is rapidly becoming, an extinct species, to be found only in some museum of historical curiosities. I dare say you have heard the story of that unhappy home where husband and wife were nearly always quarrelling—a very rare case. One day after a domestic brawl, as he gazed on the cat and dog sleeping peacefully in front of the fire, the husband said, " Wife, look at the cat and dog. Why can't we get along as well as they do?" To which the wife replied, " Tie them together and then see what will happen?"

It is scarcely necessary then, Sir, for me to say that whatever changes the future may unfold, for myself I am more than content to live and die a Briton. The mere mention of the British Empire quickens our pulse and unfolds a magnificent panorama before the eye of the imagination. It is not so much a question of geographical extent, though that may well inspire us. An American orator was once dilating, as every American has a right to do, upon the great extent of his country, bounded on the north, as he said, by the ice-girt realm of Canada, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the east by the raging Atlantic, on the west by the calm Pacific. One of the audience seemed to be dissatisfied with this definition of American boundaries and rising from his seat he interrupted the speaker. " Stay," he said, " you stifle me; you do not give me room enough to breathe the air of perfect freedom. My country is bounded on the north by the Aurora Borealis, on the east by the effete and decaying civilizations of Europe, on the west by the beams of the setting sun, and on the south by the day of Judgment." (Laughter.)

Now, Sir, without attempting to say how far the British Empire stretches into the immensities and eternities, when we think of our fellow-subjects in Africa, in Australasia, in India, in the scattered isles of the seas, when we remember that they are joined not only by a communion of laws and liberties, but by a strength of loyal sentiment which has stood the test of many changing years, who can blame us if as Canadians we rejoice that we form no unimportant link in a girdle of empire which goes around the earth. And I cannot believe, Sir, that this has come about as a matter of mere accident. When we consider that though Britain has unquestionably the defects of her qualities and that sometimes those defects may seem to be more conspicuous even than their corresponding excellencies, yet, without shutting our eyes for a moment to national faults, I believe profoundly that the place which Britain holds to-day among the nations is to be attributed, under Providence, to nothing else, to nothing less, than the genuine worth of British character. (Applause.)

For instance, the sons of Britain have been marked by a large measure of that practical energy which shrank from no tasks, however hard; which feared no dangers, however menacing; which sets the wheels of commerce in swift motion; which went forth to colonize savage and unknown continents; which brought the ripe fruits of experience even to the most desert places and made fifty years of Europe better than a cycle of Cathay. Another characteristic of the British race is the inalienable love of freedom. While other peoples have sometimes been the easy dupes of tyrannous impostors there seems to be something in the constitution of the Briton which rouses him to resent any unwarrantable interference with his natural rights and privileges. The annals of Britain are largely a long record of continuous effort to win the enfranchisement of individual life and to build up upon firm foundations the beauteous temple of civil and religious liberty. Nor, Sir, has the Briton asked for himself, as a rule, more than he has been prepared to accord to others? No doubt, sometimes, the angry and selfish passions which war tends to provoke have led to an inadequate consideration of the interests of conquered people, but, broadly speaking, it has been part of Britain's deliberate policy to be the champion of the oppressed and down-trodden, the avenger of cruel wrongs, the exponent of just laws, irrespective of race and station. St. George has always been fighting the dragon, that dreadful dragon which mars the loveliness, which crushes the strength and hope out of life. And many a people who before had been strangers to the meaning of liberty have understood its grandeur and have rejoiced in its blessings when once the Union Jack waved over them.

One other characteristic of the British race is to be found in its moral standards. History teaches us this, it seems to me, that there is an inevitable connection between National character and National destiny. There have been peoples blessed with a rich inheritance and, it may be, intellectual gifts of no common order, but if they have been wanting in high aims or the courage to fulfill them, if the cancer of vice has eaten into their vitals, if they have placed their sole reliance upon the might or power of the sword, then sooner or later they have fallen behind in the march of progress and their ruined vestiges alone remain to attest a splendour which has forever passed away. The early dwellers in Britain, to them indeed its shores might well have seemed inhospitable, rude, granite rocks fronting the angry sea; the thick mist often lying over hill and meadow and stream; but, Sir, that rugged northern climate bred a nation of rugged manliness, of high ambition and fine integrity; and the tight little Island soon became too restricted in area for their display. It is not British valour alone, though that never can be ignored—it is not British valour alone, still less mere lust of conquest, which has gradually extended the bounds of Britain's domain; it is the character of her best ideals which, in spite of occasional lapses into forgetfulness, have gradually forced their way through all opposing obstacles and have compelled respect and admiration in every quarter of the globe.

Now, Sir, since the warp and woof of modern circumstance are woven in no small part by the busy toilers whose hands are now still, it seems to me that it would be fatuous on our part as Canadians to face the future without remembering that we share in all this rich inheritance; we are of the same lineage as those who fought at Cressy and Agincourt and Waterloo and Balaclava; the same lineage as those who wrung the Magna Charta from the reluctant King and resisted even to the death every unwarrantable invasion of personal rights and privileges; the same lineage as those who gave lustre to the Court of Elizabeth and made the Victorian era the pride of all succeeding generations; the same lineage as those who were the leaders of commercial enterprise, the pioneers of scientific achievement, the heralds of truth in the lands of heathen blindness. I say that surely every Canadian ought to rejoice in heart as he looks back over the annals of Britain to know that her glory is his glory, that her triumph is his triumph, because he is an integral part of the Empire whose wide influence stands for what is noblest and what is best in modern civilization. (Applause.)

In order to serve the best interests of a true Imperialism we ought to discharge our own tasks and mark out our own pathway, not expecting others to do for us what we are able to do for ourselves. We have a splendid opportunity here of showing what is possible to the sons of Britain. We are not handicapped as some older peoples are by the baneful influence of past history. Our vital force is not shrivelled up by ages of misgovernment and thraldom. Our lot is cast in a land where the rage of democracy, the horror of pauperism, the insolence of rank, are in a very large part unknown; and though our fortunes are linked with those of the Mother-land by bonds which, as it seems to me at least, can never, never, be broken, yet on the other hand we are possessed of the responsibilities of practical self-government, and it is for us to see that that trust is not betrayed. We must rise above the trammels of mere partizanship and the greed of self-seeking, and insist upon it that our public affairs shall be conducted in a wholesome and righteous way.

It will not suffice that we shall be visited simply with transient spasms of indignation when some scandal is brought to light. We must show all the time that we look for the very best men to guide the councils of State and that we will not tolerate anywhere the dishonest and the incompetent. There is no force more influential than self-respecting public opinion, and it seems to me that there is ample room for its further development if we would make Canada all that she ought to be. It may perhaps seem, Sir, that in the presence of two great races and two great creeds which constitute the dominant factors in our land, some of the problems before us assume additional complexity. So far from regretting this, it seems to me that we ought rather to rejoice in the enlargement which dual traditions impart to national life. Fondness of conviction, of personal conviction, is surely not inconsistent with the most courteous regard for divergent views in others. Whatever our confession of faith may be, and no matter how short it is, or how indifferent it is, it ought surely to include the article of charity. The more so as the points upon which we differ are relatively of trifling importance compared with those upon which every one of us agree.

In that old City of Quebec there is a fine object lesson, as it seems to me, to every new settler coming amongst us. In that City of Quebec, overlooking the broad St. Lawrence, there stands a column erected to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, the vanquisher and the vanquished, in that crucial struggle for supremacy. On its face is written this inscription: "Valour gave a united death, history a united fame, posterity a united monument." It seems to me that the spontaneous feeling which called forth such a memorial suggests our unique and lofty mission as a people, to weld together in a common hope and a common loyalty French and English, Catholic and Protestant, so that side by side they may achieve the ambition of every true heart amongst us, the peace, the prosperity, the enduring renown of our beloved Dominion.

Sir, I rejoice in the name and in the objects of the Club which has honoured me with this invitation. We are Canadians first of all; we are likewise citizens of the

Empire; and I think we shall show the best Canadian spirit by proving that the children of the Empire have not degenerated by transplantation to this Continent. I am far from agreeing with those prophets of evil who tell us that Britain has reached the zenith of her greatness, that she must now gradually pass through the successive stages of decay. So far as I am able to judge John Bull looks just as young as ever and during recent years is discovering a more intelligent interest in the possessions across the sea. But, Sir, if the time should come when in smaller Britain industry is threatened with unwholesome congestion, if questions should arise which cannot be answered easily, if heroic sacrifice were needed in order to save the Mother-land from peril, we all know, Sir, that Greater Britain would arise to check alarms, to revive energy, to inspire achievement, so that as we watch the ship of Empire we may still follow it with a song of fervent love and noble expectation:

"Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea,
Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee;
    Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
    Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, are all with thee."

THE STATE OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.

Address by Mr. W. F. Maclean, M.P., on January 5th, 1905.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—

I will at once plunge into my subject which is "Public-owned Railways" or "State-owned Railways." There are a great many reasons in favour of a public-owned railway, and some of these reasons I will try to give you to-day in a conversational way. The first great reason in favour of state-owned railways is the effect of such a system on the defence of the country. The safety of our nation is the main thing to every person; and it has been found that those nations which control their own railways are the best fitted for the defence of their own countries. Germany has proved that fact. She owns almost every railroad, and those she does not at present own she is gradually taking over,—first of all for the purposes of defence, and in the next place for what would be called economic reasons. Anyone can see at a glance how a well-organized railway system can aid in the defence of a country that is surrounded by hostile nations. The Roman Empire was maintained by good roads, and if the Roman Empire had existed in times like our own it would have been upheld by state-owned railways.

State ownership is also justified because it affords the best means for a systematic development of the resources of any country, and especially a new and growing one. A country finds out where its resources are and places its railways so as to best develop them. State-owned railways provide the best system of transportation for local, or through traffic as it is called, and it permits of the railway transportation routes of the country being scientifically and systematically laid out and built up. Anatomists talk of an articulated system in regard to the human frame. In much the same way the only possible articulated system of railway transportation for a country is under state ownership. All the joints have a reason, are connected, and work in harmony.

A state-owned system of railways is the cheapest for many reasons. The first of these, from the point of view of economy, is that the money for building the road can be borrowed by the State at the lowest possible interest. But more than this, under a state-owned system there is no unnecessary duplication of lines and service, no waste in unnecessary competition, no waste in canvassing for business; and every dollar is spent, or ought to be spent, efficiently. Then, too, one set of terminals, stations and entrances, does for each city or possibly for a whole seaboard. As an example, Montreal now has two costly entrances, two costly exits; it has two stations and two sets of station officials. A large number of men are also necessarily employed to canvass for business and take care of it, whereas under a state-owned system there would be one large station with the best possible approach and conveniences, one set of docks for the shipping traffic, and a hundred other economies that the lack of harmony and cohesion between private systems now renders impossible.

A state-owned railway is always patriotic, and Canadians can easily recognize what is meant by this. Private-owned roads, as we know, may seek to build up the ports of other countries. The Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific to-day have large interests in Boston and Portland, and if it suits those interests to divert traffic from Canadian ports they do it—and do it in a minute. A state-owned railway dare not do this. But patriotism never appeals to a private-owned road. Still worse than this, private-owned roads carry the traffic of neighbouring and foreign countries through their own territory for less than they carry the freight and produce of that territory. The C. P. R. and G. T. R. are carrying the farm produce, live stock, and dead meat of the western United States through Canada for less than they carry Canadian farm produce of similar kinds.

No state-owned road would do this; for would the people of any country allow the road they owned to actually offer a bonus to their rivals in business whose produce in the markets of the world is a rival of their own? These roads now carry the passenger traffic that originates in the States across Canada for less than they carry Canadians—Canadians who have subsidised them so freely!

A state-owned railway does not discriminate in favour of preferred interests or preferred customers. That gigantic monopoly, the Standard Oil Co., has absolutely been built up on discriminations in its favour made by all the great railroads of the States, involving rebates, involving preferences for the great trusts that have private-owned freight cars and the like, and out of these trusts and discriminations come the Rockefellers, who are the financial lords and dictators of the entire country. Neither would a state-owned railway discriminate against any town, province, or trade interest as against any other town, province, or trade interest, for all are treated equally and alike, the rich and the poor, the near and the far. The poor man gets the best rate on the state-owned railway just as does the rich corporation or the rich man. Under private-ownership of railways the poor man invariably gets the worst of it. Discrimination is the greatest evil to-day attendant on private-owned railways. Private-owned railways can blast a place and put a blight on any interest or individual. Under state-owned railway systems the problem is how to handle the traffic of the country at the least possible cost to the people of the country. In the country where the private-owned road prevails the problem presented to the managers of every road is: How can we so handle and tax the traffic that comes to us as to pay the largest possible dividend to our shareholders, no matter how much water the shares may contain? This is also a paramount consideration.

A state-owned railway system is complementary of the waterways of the country. With a splendid system of inland navigation in a country traffic may be more cheaply handled, partly by water and partly by rail. It is therefore to the interest of a country that the waterways should be utilized. Private-owned roads invariably act against any water traffic and only take to boats when absolutely compelled to do so. If Canada had a state-owned system of railways it would work in harmony with a state-owned system of navigation, and the two together would give the lowest freight charges. State-owned railways, by reason of economy and systematization, can have the highest possible standard of railway construction in the way of double-tracking and straightest lines; that is lines free as much as possible from curves. For the state-owned system allows the ideal railway to be built and the ideal railway is without curves and therefore straight, is almost without grades, or has the least possible grades, and is built of the highest standard of excellence generally. And this kind of road is the only one that carries the traffic of a country at the cheapest possible rate. Poorly-built and poorly-equipped roads, and roads full of curves and grades, as most private-owned roads are, can never handle traffic at the lowest possible rate.

The ideal railroad for Canada is a state-owned railway, from the seaboard of the Atlantic to the seaboard of the Pacific, double-tracked or four-tracked, without unnecessary curves and with the lowest possible grades, with branches at proper intervals running right and left. This would be a national spine and ribs. It could carry the wheat of the great West to the seaboard at the lowest possible cost, and at the lowest rate for freight. The lowest freight means the highest price to the grower. But it would be because the road was of the highest class of excellence, and as has been said the highest class of railway excellence is possible only when the State builds, owns, and controls, and the road is properly systematized. Wherever state-owned railways have been introduced they have steadily gained in favour. No country that has nationalized its railways has ever proposed to go back to private-ownership.

Nearly all the roads in Europe are state-owned or state-controlled. In Germany the movement is to nationalize every mile of the railways there. In a few years France will take over thousands of miles of private-owned roads and incorporate them with the national system. Australia and New Zealand have made a marvelous success of state-owned roads. State-owned roads in New Zealand, especially, have given the people cheap travel, cheap freight and created no great interest or class like that of the railway barons of the United States. The road in New Zealand is managed altogether in the interests of the people who use it and no one else. The private-owned roads of the United States have created the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, the Rockefellers, the Harrimans, the Hills, and all the rest of that new plutocracy which has arisen in the United States and which seems to represent now, along with the Trusts, more power than that of the President and Congress combined. They not only dictate to the Legislative system, but they can make and unmake towns and cities, can make and unmake business of all kinds and can tie up all kinds of natural products.

What worse system can one imagine than that which allows the coal deposits of the United States to fall into the hands of these railway and coal barons, as they are called? Under state-owned railways coal could be delivered all over the country into every house for one or two dollars a ton, either soft or anthracite. Now, by reason of monopolies and private-owned railways, it is in some places six dollars a ton. If there is any gift from Providence to man in a country like the United States or Canada, it should be cheap fuel; and yet the railways under private-ownership have come between the people and this providential supply of coal, and have boosted up the prices so that one of the commonest sights now in the great cities of America is the widow and the orphan going along the railway tracks picking up what stray fragments of coal they can find to fill the little basket for their day's supply of fuel. State-ownership would change this in a day, and give every honest citizen coal at cost price. The great railway interests of the United States and Canada, along with the trusts they have created, are gradually demoralizing the Legislatures, the press, the municipal institutions, and even the Courts. Half the social disorders that exist in the United States can be traced to the private-ownership of railways. The money that floods this country at election times is railway money.

The state-owned railway system treats its employees better than the private-owned system. The private-owned railways in Canada, following the example shown in the United States, are ready to discard a man after he has reached forty years of age. How serious this is only the man in the service can fully appreciate, but the public are beginning to ascertain the facts. State-owned railways would pay the men better wages and would provide a system of pensions. The public could depend on a better service. The state-owned system of railways has been proved to be the best and the cheapest. In Austria-Hungary, where the country is divided into zones, the people travel at less than a cent a mile. Labour, especially, is free to go wherever work is to be had. And at the same time the operation is done at a small profit. The private-owned railways in the United States have become so powerful and are so interested in the expressed cost connected with them that they have had sufficient influence to prevent the adoption of a parcel post system in the United States similar to that found in Great Britain and Germany, and have paralyzed any effort in the direction of adopting the English and German system of money transfer by Post-office Orders. The railway lobby at Washington has time after time killed off attempted legislation to improve the parcel post system and the introduction of a money transfer system, such as they have in Europe. Where there is a state-owned system the railways handle all mails, handle the express packages, and transfer of money; and the small package freight, in the way of basket produce going to market has been enormously developed. Under the private-owned roads of the United States no such convenience and progress is to be noted. The state-owned railways of the various countries of Europe have enabled the farmers of Europe to get into direct touch with the consumers through this basket-produce system.

We are not so progressive as we think we are. In former days the King's highway was free to every one, and all the produce of the land and the output of industry went upon it and over it. Since then we have degenerated; we have allowed great thoroughfares to be built through the country under private control. A railway ought to be nothing but the King's or the people's highway with a set of tracks upon it; and the sooner we get back to this idea the more benefit there will be to those who have to use it. There is no good reason why the railways of Canada could not be nationalized to-morrow, and the principle of Public Ownership applied not only to the post-office, but to the railways, telephones, telegraphs, express and money transfer business, and all those great public utilities made to serve the people instead of, as now, the private monopolies that control them. There are a great many more reasons why we should have public or state-owned railways which I will not give you to-day; and I have no doubt that there are a great many reasons against state-owned railways, and if the gentlemen present will formulate any questions they may desire to ask I will endeavour to answer them at some future meeting.

HON. EUGENE N. FOSS,
Of Boston, Mass.

RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH CANADA AND GREAT BRITAIN.

Address by the Hon. Eugene N. Foss, of Boston, Mass., Thursday evening, January 12th, 1905.

Mr. President and Members of the Empire Club; Fellow Americans,—

I am going to ask your indulgence to-night while I read what I have to say, as I did not wish to be misunderstood or misquoted. And if what I shall say shall form a foundation for some discussion here to-night, I will feel my mission has not been in vain. My topic is "The Future Relations of the United States and Canada and the effect upon the British Empire." Mr. President, I have found upon reflection that this subject can hardly be treated as it deserves in the brief half hour to which, in courtesy to you, I must confine myself this evening. With your permission, therefore, I will do no more than outline my thought concerning the grave and delicate subject of our future relations. I will use my time chiefly in setting forth, as frankly and truly as I may, what I know and what I believe concerning the future attitude of the United States toward Canada. I have no doubt you will be interested in this phase of the discussion; and I am at least here speaking upon familiar ground, whatever you may think of my right to have opinions upon the remainder of the subject.

Let me also say that I represent no political ambition but rather a friendly American spirit. My outlook is that of a business man upon the commercial and business interests of the two countries. I have had business relations with many of you in Canada for the past twenty-five years and I am happy to say that they have been satisfactory and profitable to me and, I trust, to you as well. I hope they will so continue. I hold no official position. My point of view is simply that of a manufacturer conversant with conditions in the States and with the present attitude of our business men toward your country. My subject leads me to remark that in most respects the relations of the two countries in the past have been commendable. Notwithstanding some differences, your speakers and ours who cross the Line never fail to direct attention to the cordial regard in which each country holds the other. The recent tribute of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is reciprocated, I know, by President Roosevelt. I refer to this condition not with the claim of especial credit on our part, but as indicating the true spirit of our people. This record of 100 years of friendly intercourse surely should count for something and as an earnest of good faith in the future relations of the two countries. While we have had our differences, it can be said to the credit of all concerned, that they have been settled peaceably.

You are aware of the great disappointment in the United States over the memorable decision which gave Canada the great valley of the Columbia River and her outlet to the Pacific. More recently you have had your own disappointment in the award of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal.

Whatever Canada may have had to complain of in the cry of "54-40 or fight," or in the *personnel* of our representatives upon the Alaskan Commission, this must not be charged to the spirit of the people of the United States. When we lost a large portion of what we considered to be our North-West Territory, our people accepted the verdict and refused to fight; and when, more recently, "impartial jurists of repute" were not appointed to the Alaskan Tribunal, through the influence of our overpowering Senate, this breach of faith was publicly rebuked in the United States on more than one distinguished occasion. I am sure you agree with me that this record ought to allay any suspicion or fear on your part that we of the United States have political designs on Canada. Furthermore, the treatment which your representatives have received at Washington in the past, in your endeavours to improve the trade relations of the two countries, is traceable not to the unfriendly spirit of our people, but rather to the abuses of our economic policy and to the representatives thus created and maintained in the Congress of the United States.

In order, therefore, to understand better the industrial situation in the States and its bearing upon our future relations not only with Canada, but also with other countries, it becomes necessary to review briefly the historical development of our national trade policy. This policy, as you well know, is what is called Protection. "Protection," as originally conceived and defined by Alexander Hamilton, its founder, contemplated a tax upon imports for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the general Government, but with incidental design, also, to favour the home producer. From the idea of revenue with incidental protection we have now managed to evolve a system of protection with incidental revenue —the very antithesis of the thought of Hamilton. In proof, let me quote the analysis, by one of its most distinguished representatives, of this modern view of protection. "The object of tariff taxation," he says, "is not the raising of revenue but, on the contrary, the reduction of revenue and, ultimately, the extinction of revenue, by duties to be raised to a height sufficient for the accomplishment of this end." Another distinguished economist, commenting upon this utterance, says: "Here is a confession that the aim of protection is prohibition. First, put on a tariff. If foreign goods come in raise it higher. If they still come in raise it again, 'till revenue is extinguished'; that is till no goods come in at all."

Now, Mr. President, whatever we may think of such protection, this analysis truthfully represents the tendency of our tariff policy. We have reached the parting of the ways—the limit. Hitherto the tendency of tariff revision has been to increase, not to lower, the duties. Is this course defensible upon any grounds? Has it contributed to our industrial progress? Has it not, rather, restricted, hampered and limited our development—particularly our relations with the Dominion of Canada? This being so—and I believe it is so—what is the reasonable and true idea of protection and how can it be justified? There are some things which protection is not. First, it is not, or should not be, a permanent policy for a given industry. It never was intended to be. It cannot be justified except as a temporary expedient. It is designed for the purpose and for the purpose only of enabling an industry, or a branch of industry, to become established and self-supporting. The only excuse or defence for protection is, that by this means we may import a new industry which shall in time become able to compete with any like industry in the world in the production of cheap or abundant goods. When this industry reaches the point of independence, its tariff protection should be discontinued, or at the most made merely nominal. If maintained, it operates to create or promote monopoly, through the stifling of all healthful competition from abroad.

The danger of protection is, as we have learned by bitter experience, that the infant industry never admits that it has grown to independence. What really has grown is the vested interest or monopoly which it is next to impossible to shake off or control without an economic revolution. Neither does protection afford a safe and equitable basis for national taxation, for it gives away to special classes or private interests the right of the Government to tax the people for the cost of common benefits. This system of protection as it exists to-day in the United States has been described as " at the same time a social abuse, an economic blunder and a political evil." In the third place, it should be noted that Protection, as an equivalent balance of high wages against the so-called " pauper " labour of other countries has been discredited by the fact that high-paid labour is cheapest, when both the quantity and quality of the work are considered. Why, here in Canada you have a tariff which is protective in its purpose against the skilled or high-priced labour of the United States; while our tariff, according to the zealous defenders of the present system, is designed to protect us against the cheap labour of foreign countries—an exact opposite. Is this consistent? Is not Protection of this kind plainly indefensible?

These considerations bring us to the point where we must define the true idea and purpose of protection as we understand it—not a permanent trade policy for a selected industry, much less for the whole circle of industries; not a proper basis for national taxation; not a device required continuously to equalize labour costs.

What, then, is true protection? It is indirect taxation, plus a temporary advantage to an undeveloped industry until that industry proves its ability to stand alone against the world in quality and in abundance of product. For such protection and such protection alone does the temper of the people of the United States stand to-day. Protection, to be justified, must be limited in the period of its operation and in the degree of differential advantage. It must be limited also in the selection of the individual industry or industries which may temporarily require it. After a period of, say, five or ten years, the amount of its tariff tax should be gradually reduced, perhaps by a certain percentage each year. Only by this method can protection be held to its original beneficent purpose and be prevented from promoting monopoly. Let us consider how many of our industries in the States can be properly classed under this conception of a properly protected industry. Very few, we must admit. It has been conceded by the representatives of some of these industries that they no longer need protection. We know this of certain other industries which do not concede it. We would cite iron and steel and coal as flagrant examples of the case in point. In fact, we are competing to-day in the open markets of the world in practically all staple products.

There are industries which have justification for advancing the claim that they need support at the public expense. These claims, if found reasonable, should be allowed; under close supervision and limitation, however. You may have noticed that we are creating and adapting the machinery of our Government to provide for the supervision and limitation of some of our great enterprises; and I believe that our new Department of Commerce and Labour, under the wise directing hand of our progressive President, must find a promising field of operation in the consideration of problems relating to the tariff. There are some other industries, it may be, which have demonstrated their ability to become independent. From such the benefit of the differential advantage they enjoy should be gradually withdrawn, thus giving time for capital to re-invest on safer lines. A pauper industry, when recognized as such and as being incapable of becoming anything else, cannot be tolerated without clogging the wheels of human progress and, therefore, has no right to exist.

Now, Mr. President, the practical and difficult question in our country concerns such of our industries as enjoy a greater degree of differential advantage than is needed; a degree which, if maintained, contributes to monopoly. Not that this excess of protection is the only factor of the problem but it is a very important one. Let me say right here that I have not followed this line of reasoning for your instruction, but because the conditions as they exist with us have been an obstacle to the relations which you have desired with us, and which our people now are becoming wise enough to desire with you. What these conditions have been in the past they will become still more in the future, unless corrected. Not only this, but there is ground for saying that they threaten the very foundations of our industrial and social order. But, you naturally ask, what do you in the United States purpose to do about it? Now that is what I want to explain. The result of our late National election was an endorsement of our protective policy, but not of its abuses. The good faith of the Republican party is pledged to a revision, or re-adjustment, of the tariff schedules, whenever necessary. Hitherto, as I have pointed out, the tendency has been to increase the degree of protection. This is no longer the case. We have reached the limit of such protection in the United States, for it is false to the true idea of protection, and the people are waking up to the fact. We have reached the point of monopoly and extortion and where we realize their existence.

What has made the United States industrially great? We concede that the tariff has done much, but has it been the whole thing? M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu, the French economist, in a recent exhaustive study of conditions in the United States, makes no reference to the tariff as a factor of our astonishing prosperity. The principal causes he regards as our agricultural and mineral resources, the development and protection of our methods of transportation, our freedom of inter-state commerce and our emancipation from ultra-conservative ideas and from ideas inherited from the past. Representatives of the British Iron and Steel Institute recently made a tour of inspection of our country and were most impressed with these seven points in American industrial life and economy: (1) The vast scale on which the iron and steel industry is carried on; (2) the high quality and comparative cheapness of American ore and coke; (3) the extent to which labour-saving machinery is everywhere called into service; (4) the large and ever-growing output of the plants; (5) the cheapness and efficiency of rail and water transport as compared with transport cost and efficiency in England; (6) the extent and character of the home market for the products of the steel plants; (7) the high wages of skilled and unskilled labour.

The visitors attributed our high wages to the tariff and to the enormous demands of the home market. They admitted, however, that England had neglected to avail herself of the advantage of labour-saving machinery because of the cheapness of labour; and they noted that, although we paid higher wages, we employed less men per process than at home, and that the cost of the finished product was much less than in Great Britain. They found, too, that the American never hesitated to instal new and improved machinery even before the old was worn out, if he could thus effect a material reduction in the cost of his product. I have said that we in the United States have reached the point of monopoly and extortion and are alive to the fact. You naturally ask me, what are you going to do about it?

I would answer that the most progressive and generous element in the United States demands a change—the element which seeks your friendship and co-operation as well as your trade. I tell you, Mr. President, that our people have reached the point where they will insist on a square deal on the tariff question. We demand this primarily for ourselves, but we cannot re-adjust our trade relations with the world without benefiting every customer on our list. We will begin with Canada, in my judgment—unless Newfoundland gets in ahead of you—and I think we naturally will move along the lines which mark the boundaries of the British Empire. It is evident that Canadian tariff legislation has been chiefly with respect to the United States. We on our part have framed our schedules almost always with reference to some section of the British Empire. Our main thought has been, it would seem, to prevent the sale of British goods in our country; to keep the home market so securely to ourselves that our people must patronize home industry, whatever the cost. We are alive to the folly of much of this programme. We see that it has checked our progress and burdened us, in many instances, with needless expense. We see, too, that in ignoring the prosperity of our customer we have menaced our own; that he must make a profit somewhere, and if he cannot at home or from some other country, as Canada makes it from Great Britain, he must quit buying. This is the business view we are coming to take of the international situation. It is nothing new to you, but it marks a distinct departure with us.

You cannot at present look to Washington for this new spirit, for Washington opinion is notoriously inaccurate as a reflection of public sentiment. I would qualify this statement a little, however. I would say, rather, that you cannot look far beyond the White House for symptoms of the change which is impending—for the signs of a broader, a more tolerant, a more progressive spirit in the conduct of our fiscal policy. In Theodore Roosevelt we have a statesman keenly responsible to the voice of the people, ready to grasp opportunity when it comes. In Roosevelt you have a better friend than you know. This broader view, this belated recognition of the importance of our commerce, is more widespread than you might gather from reading some of our stalwart newspapers. It is not confined to Massachusetts, as our Home Market Club would have you think, and it is not peculiar to the Democratic party. President Roosevelt, while elected by the party of high protection, yet had the confidence and support of the progressive element. I am convinced that he appreciates the importance to all concerned of cultivating the closest and most friendly relations with Canada. The Jingoes cannot alarm him and the monopolists cannot intimidate him. He is honest, progressive and open-minded. Like his great predecessor, whose death threatened a distinct loss to other nations as well as our own, he is in step with the march of events; and the friends of international good-will and prosperity are looking to him.

With the conditions as I have stated them—with the birth of a new spirit among our people which promises a wider and a more liberal view of men and things the world over, what will be the attitude of Canada toward the United States? Will she meet us half way, as she has been more than ready to do in the past, or will she seek a Provincial isolation? Will she respond to the best that is in us, as it goes out to her, or will she ignore it? We understand thoroughly your position in the matter of tariff concessions, from the present basis, and cannot criticize it. Our people are beginning to recognize that gross inequalities, if not injustice, exist. They are now ready, I believe, to remedy these conditions without asking much of you. We already are formulating a plan which contemplates the immediate removal, or a material reduction of, the restrictive duties on many of your most important products. We intend to propose nothing which, while making for our own welfare, does not also contemplate corresponding benefits to Canada. In all I ever have written or said upon the so-called Canadian question I have studiously kept in the forefront of my argument this thought—that whatever we of the United States may propose, whatever we may do, we must consult your interest and prosperity even as our own.

Your Government, while standing for the doctrine of protection, yet takes the view that there are many things which it is not well for Canada to try to make. This is sound economics. The people of the United States are to-day grievously taxed to support certain unnatural industries. There are certain things, and a great many of them, which you can raise, which you can manufacture, which you can traffic in to better advantage than we in the States. In those lines you will sell and predominate and control. It would be impertinent for me to do more than generalize along this line, but I have the right to say that a recognition of the principle is extremely important, if not vital, to the success of Canada. It is better to avoid our mistakes than to imitate them. You have avoided most of them so far, but the pressure upon your Government is strong, and I recognize the plausible strength which underlies the arguments. You have to deal, however, with questions of fact rather than of theory, and the practical question relates to the class of business you can develop that will attain the greatest success and bring you the most profit.

In the United States we have, in some cases, attempted to build up unnatural industries and thus foster pauper enterprises; and have forced the whole country to pay the bills. We have done more than protect against unfair foreign competition—we have refused our people the opportunity to invest and spend their money to the best advantage to themselves. The result has been the creation of trust and monopoly; evils from which you are comparatively free. In my judgment, events are tending toward a political revolution in the United States, for our over-protected special interests have over-played their game. The recent election result in Massachusetts is only a symptom. They oppose fair play for you, moreover, because they fear for themselves. Your new "dumping-clause" is a wise one, and I hope you will make it effective. I notice that Hon. J. Israel

Tarte, in a recent interview, stated that Reciprocity between the two countries is impossible because we are rivals. It seems to me this is the best reason why we should get together. In this way can the interests of both countries be best protected—most assuredly so in certain important lines. Whatever the old theory as to competition, the modern tendency is toward consolidation; and every business man knows that rival businesses in the same community generally result in the survival of the fittest.

Now the idea advanced by Dr. Montague in his recent eloquent speech before our Home Market Club, when he pictured the Dominion of Canada as populated by 100,000,000 people, raising 800,000,000 to 900,000,000 bushels of wheat yearly, and supplying her own needs and those of Great Britain and the rest of the world—this theory is a very ambitious one, but it raises several grave questions. It is ideal, but some of us see some dangers in it. Hundreds of millions of people of the same race, same religions, of the same civilization, producing the same things, competing in the same markets—this conception fills the cup of laudable ambition to the brim, but in the nature of things is it possible? Can such an aggregation of human nature, with the millennium so far off, continue to live on both sides of this imaginary line in peace and good will? I do not like to say this, I do not like to think it. I hope my implied deduction is all wrong; but we are Anglo-Saxons, and I cannot forget the facts of Anglo-Saxon history—of the welding of the United Kingdom itself.

Dr. Montague says: "Let us alone. We are all right. We are working out our own destiny as you have worked out yours, and if we can only continue on this line we shall become a larger, powerful nation, in numbers and wealth the rival of the United States." I honour this sentiment and the ambition from which it springs. I am second to no man in my appreciation of Canadian statesmanship and ability, but all the facts of the material world confirm my belief that the United States is destined to be the dominant factor on the

American continent. It is not that you or I wish it so, or that our children's children may wish it so—it is, as far as human judgment can foresee, the Fact Inevitable. It is not because I am a citizen of the United States that I predict this of my country. Rather is it because I am and must be, from the point of view of so tremendous a future, a citizen of the world. Do not misunderstand me. We respect your ambition to become a great nation, industrially, commercially and politically. We have no desire to slaughter your industries and make you a pastoral people. Such a course, while immediately profitable to a few of our manufacturers, perhaps, would be short-sighted. We wish you the same development that has come to our several States. Some of these are agricultural, some industrial. Very few of them are self-contained. A prime factor of their development has been freedom of interchange—affording a natural play of force and energy. We would upbuild your country as we have upbuilt our own.

No commonwealth of all our forty-five has suffered in material prosperity from being a member of the great family of commonwealths, and, by the same token, the same privileges can be extended to Canada without menace to her loyalty or integrity. The great events of the future must take care of themselves. We can concern ourselves now only with the problems of industrial and commercial development. If you believe your ambition can best be served by hostile tariffs, of course you will enact them; but the overwhelming fact that a natural community of interest exists between the two countries cannot be denied. The comparative failure of your preference to Great Britain emphasizes this. Only by extreme measures, bringing hardship to your own people, can you divert the natural course of trade.

I cannot believe that we, the elder child, are less loyal to the Mother-country than you. I profoundly believe that if the time should ever come when England needed help, the United States would offer it as freely and spontaneously as Canada herself. We are bound together by such common interests that the English-

Hon. Dr. W. H. Montague.

speaking peoples must stand together, not only in war, but also in peace. Anything that would injure England industrially would hurt us. England and her Colonies take from us more than half of all we sell abroad. If for no other reason than this alone we should be friends; but there are reasons stronger and finer than even that. I believe that a commercial union between Canada and the United States would be only the first step in a compact with Great Britain, which would insure not only the industrial but the political peace of the world.

ADDRESS OF THE HON. DR. W. H. MONTAGUE, FORMERLY DOMINION MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Before I say anything upon the subject which has been so well introduced by the distinguished visitor from the other side of the Line, I must congratulate you, Sir, and your Club upon the work which you are doing for Canada in not only discussing subjects of this kind but inviting from across the border eminent citizens whose visits here will not only result in teaching us many things which we at present do not know, but which will add to those bonds and ties of friendship and of sympathy which exist between the two peoples. I know something, Sir, of the hospitality and the generosity of American audiences in their greeting to Canadian visitors; and I was exceedingly pleased, Sir, that the members of this Club were not behind in their enthusiastic welcome to the distinguished gentleman who has come here upon an errand of friendship and who has delivered to us a very interesting address indeed.

We were just a little amused I fancy at some of the things which the kindly gentleman said. Perhaps amused that we had so long taken another view of the case; and one's own mistakes are always the most amusing when the ridiculous nature of those mistakes are exposed as they have been to-night. We had thought, I may tell our good friend from Massachusetts, that instead of getting, for instance, more than our share of the Columbia Valley we didn't get quite our share and we thought we ought to have got the State of Washington and that the boundary line should have been the great Columbia River; and we thought also we ought to have had the State of Maine. The question is now a serious question with us of a great Atlantic seaboard and we did think perhaps we lost a few acres in connection with the Alaskan question. But, we are generous because we are wealthy. We have forty times as much territory still, as I am sure Mr. Foss knows, as the great old Mother-land possesses in her little Island. We have enough to make one German Empire and leave fifteen German Empires behind; and we have just a little bit more, notwithstanding the decision of the Alaska Tribunal, than is possessed by that glorious Republic, and I use that phrase in its strongest sense, from which my Honourable friend comes to address us to-night.

The gentleman's address has been instructive in many ways, particularly, as a philosophic discussion of the question of Protection. With the bounding energy of youth, with the busy toil of middle age, men are not apt to spend time in philosophizing. But in the United States they have reached past the youth and past the middle age of great commercial development and now, perhaps, in the fulness of age as the result of protection, they may be permitted to philosophize. But we do not feel in this country that we have reached that old age of industrial development when we are prepared to drop the actual things and philosophize so calmly and so complacently as my Honourable friend has done to-night upon the subject.

I may tell him that I think I speak the sentiments of the Canadian people when I say to him that we have become a protective country. It is true it was a party question for many years, but I think, unquestionably, now the Canadian people may be said to be a people who have decided that they will work out their destiny along Canadian lines in their own way and that they will endeavour to strengthen and increase the force of every industry that is natural to our soil, that will employ our people and increase our industrial wealth. As to the question of whether we should suffer from the taking down of those bars, I say in all kindness that I think we have not reached the philosophic stage when we would like to try it. There is a story told of a gentleman who was absent from home and who received a telegram from one of his friends. "Your mother-in-law died this afternoon. Shall we embalm, cremate or bury?" And he answered that telegram, "Take no chances. Do all three." (Laughter.) And so, Sir, I think I speak the sentiment of our Canadian people when I say, notwithstanding all the truths of philosophy, we have come to the conclusion at last that we will take no chances in dealing with our great national industry, but build it up in our own way, as our best contribution to Imperial strength and as our best contribution to the civilization of the globe.

I am pleased to know that there are other countries where the sentiment of the Capital is not always the sentiment of the country. For my part I should like to be able to say to my friend that the Ottawa political sentiment is not the sentiment of Canada. In fact, I don't think it is the sentiment of Toronto. Nevertheless I am bound to say that like my friend we have to suffer and be patient and be strong with the hope that some of these days the true and genuine sentiment of the country will find expression in the removal at Ottawa and at Washington of the people who differ from Mr. Foss and myself. However, Sir, upon this question upon which our good friend has spoken so well and so kindly to-night, I am not quite able to say that the sentiment seems in my judgment to be the sentiment of Canada. Recently, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who in other days favoured, and favoured very strongly, a wide reciprocal arrangement with the United States, seems to have taken a firm Canadian position, and I am sure that Canadians, without regard to political feelings, will support him in that contention. Now, Sir, there is just one word, before I go on to say a few words upon the subject of Reciprocity, to which I should like to take a kindly objection. And I do not desire to do it in any unkindly spirit.

Our friend used only one word to which I think we could object. He asked us whether we were prepared to hold out our hand in a spirit of broad unanimity and kindness to the United States, or whether we should prefer the position of Provincial isolation. If he would change those words we shall agree with him and say that his address was perfect—if he would change those words of "Provincial isolation" to "National consolidation and Imperial unification," which is the policy of Canada. Of course, I suppose we will have to accept the fact that at the present time the people of the United States are the dominant factors upon the Continent of North America. If my memory serves me rightly they outnumber us to a considerable extent; but there is one thought I should just like to express. Of course I have to go back a good many years, and yet history repeats itself; I have to go back a good many years to get my illustration; but the older the wine the better, and the older the illustration the stronger. There was a time on the Continent of Europe when Greece and Rome were the dominant factors on that Continent, but, Sir, the dominant factors on the Continent of Europe to-day are the Northern people; and we are the northern people. We have the climate which gives, and has given in every age, the best sample of mind and of muscle, and which in every age has been the very hospitable home of freedom and of liberty. And we hope, though we may be hoping against fate, that history will repeat itself in this Continent; and I assure my friend, Mr. Foss, that if that time ever comes we shall treat the United States with the greatest generosity possible, as though they were still retaining their dominant position upon the Continent of America!

Now, Sir, I want to say a few words upon the subject of Reciprocity, as I believe, expressive of the sentiment of the Canadian people. It is a delicate position to be in to discuss a question which a good-natured, kindly and able visitor has discussed from the other side of the Line; and so instead of discussing it off-hand, if you will permit me, I should like to read a few words which I said upon the subject at the Fitchburg (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce a few weeks ago, when I had no knowledge of Mr. Foss coming to this Empire Club, and a stenographic report of which I have before me at the present time, and, therefore, what I may have said in that speech cannot possibly be taken as an unkind criticism of what was said by Mr. Foss so well here to-night.

The history of Reciprocity between the United States and Canada is to us as old as the history of the Dominion. It is a history full of the records of disappointments and failures in one direction; equally full of successes and triumphs in another direction. Disappointments and failures by reason of the futility of our efforts to secure it; success and triumphs because of the victories which we have won in other directions, and in other avenues to which our attention and our energies have been turned. May I recall to you to-day some of the pages of that history, because it appears to me it is essential to a thorough understanding of our attitude upon the matter at the present date. After six years of effort a Reciprocity Treaty was concluded in 1854 between the United States and the then British Provinces of North America. That treaty was abrogated by you in 1866.

It is interesting and instructive to recall some of the effects which were produced by it and some of the results which flowed from it. The interchange of traffic between the two countries increased from $33,000,000 in 1853 to $84,000,000 in 1866. Clearly, however, the results of the Treaty, so far as they were understood by you, were not satisfactory to you, but I am inclined to think, and indeed I think I am justified by the record in thinking so, that your dissatisfaction arose largely from a want of correct information with regard to its effects. Perhaps, however, your dissatisfaction with it was also to a large extent due to the rising tide of protection that was then taking hold of the people. An official Memorandum was prepared in 1874 by one of the British Plenipotentiaries, and that Memorandum, I fancy, is now on file in your State Department at Washington. The statistics therein contained with regard to the results of the Elgin Treaty were collated from your own public records, were submitted to your representatives and thoroughly examined by the officers of your Departments, and when this had all been done their correctness was cordially and freely admitted.

From the figures of that Memorandum I gleaned that the traffic between Canada and the United States increased year by year in volume. In 1853 it was $20,000,000, in 1854 it was $33,000,000, in 1863 it was $85,000,000, in 1866 it was $84,000,000; but it is important to enquire whether the increase was made in exports from your country or in imports to it. Let me answer that question once more with the statistics in the Memorandum. There is some slight difference between the figures from our Trade Returns and yours, but taking either side of the statistics the balance of trade during the time when the Treaty was in operation was at least $20,000,000 against Canada and probably nearer $100,000,000. The gross trade between the two countries for the thirteen years was, according to your returns, $671,000,000 and according to our returns $630,000,000; large figures you will admit when it is remembered that the British Provinces at that time contained a population of only 3,000,000 people.

It is important also to know what the nature of the trade was. So far as our purchases from you were concerned I find that no less than one hundred and fifty million of them were of foreign products, $8,500,000 worth of timber, $24,000,000 worth of miscellaneous articles and no less than $150,000,000 worth of general merchandise, a sum to which no other country approached in those years. Indeed, Sir, if you will consult your trade and navigation returns for that period you will find that during the thirteen years of the Treaty's operation our purchases from you were greater than the purchases made by China, Brazil, Italy, Hayti, Russia and her possessions, Venezuela, Austria, the Argentine Republic, Denmark and her possessions, Turkey, Portugal and her possessions, the Sandwich Islands, the Central American States and Japan, all put together. In another way, Sir, the Treaty was an important factor. You had in 1862 over 203,000 tons of shipping engaged in the St. Lawrence fisheries and 28,000 seamen, and the cash returns for that year considerably exceeded $14,000,000.

Take, now, the figures three years after the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty which deprived the United States fishermen of the shore privileges enjoyed under that Treaty. The United States tonnage in that trade had fallen from $203,000 tons in the year 1862, to $62,000 tons in 1869. Take the years afterwards when these privileges under the Washington Treaty were restored to you and you will find that the tonnage always rapidly increased again. Notwithstanding, Sir, that we believe, as our discussions in our Canadian Parliament show, that the Treaty was of more advantage to you than to us, still we were anxious for its renewal because we were just then entering into Confederation and had many difficult problems to face and, besides, we had not then sought out other markets. Consequently the Coalition Ministry which had been formed for the purpose of carrying Confederation, made strong efforts for the renewal of the Elgin Treaty. So strong were those efforts that the Hon. George Brown, who was a Liberal, and the leader of the Liberal party of Canada, and had joined the Coalition Ministry in order to consolidate the Provinces, resigned because he felt that Canada was being demeaned by the course pursued by his colleagues in that regard. Allow me to quote from a speech which he made in the Senate of Canada and which explains his position upon that question, and which, at the same time, shows how far Canada went. Speaking in the Senate in 1875 Mr. Brown said:

> I resigned from the Government because I felt very strongly that although we in Canada derived great advantage from the Treaty of 1854, the American people derived still greater advantage from it. I had no objection to the Treaty and I am quite ready to renew it or even to extend it largely in future in terms of reciprocity, but I was not willing to ask for a renewal of it as a favour to Canada; I was not willing to offer special inducements without future concessions in return; I was not willing that the canals and inland waters of Canada should be made the joint property of Canada and the United States and be maintained at their joint expense; I was not willing that the Customs and Excise duties of Canada should be assimilated to the prohibitory rates of the United States; and, very especially, was I unwilling that any such arrangement should be entered into with the United States dependent on the frail tenure of reciprocal legislation, repealable at any moment, by the caprice of either party.

These expressions from the leader of the Liberal party show how far the Government of that day were prepared to go and how generous they were in their offers to you; but generous as were their terms, their offers were refused. Several efforts were made between '66 and '69. In 1869 negotiations were opened in July and they extended to March, 1870. A project was actually submitted and that project included the cession for a term of years of our Fisheries to the United States and the enlargement by us and the enjoyment by you of our canals. The free enjoyment of the navigation of the River St. Lawrence and the assimilation of our Customs and Excise duties, the concession of an Import duty equal to the Internal Revenue of the United States, and the free admission into their country of certain manufactures of the other in addition to agricultural products. Once more, Sir, these propositions, generous in their nature, wide and inclusive in their scope, offering many things of advantage, and of great advantage, to the United States, were rejected.

Then, Sir, I come to the time of the negotiation of the Washington Treaty of 1871. Upon the Commission which concluded this Treaty the Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald, for a great many years leader of the Conservative party in Canada and the founder of our National Policy, was one of the British Plenipotentiaries. In connection with these negotiations the British Commissioners asked for the settlement of the Inshore Fishery matter upon the basis of a renewal of the Treaty of 1854. Other concessions were also offered but the propositions were declined. But arising out of that Treaty you will remember that a Board of Arbitration was appointed to report upon the value of our Fisheries which, under the Washington Treaty, had for the time being been turned over to your use. When that Board of Arbitration was about to meet the Government of Canada conceived it to be the proper time once more to approach your Government for the purpose of, if possible, increasing the trade between the two countries, and the Hon. George Brown was appointed by Canada to open up negotiations upon that subject. The project of a treaty was prepared which formed the basis of discussion, and you will be struck, I am sure, with the generosity of the offer made by Canada at that time when I read you the proposition we then offered for the renewal of the Treaty of 1854 on a twenty-one year basis:

First. That the Fishery Arbitration provisions of the Washington Treaty should be abandoned, and that meant the offer of $5,000,000 in cash, because you afterwards paid us $5,000,000 upon the Halifax Award in that connection.

Second. We offered that the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals should at our expense be enlarged forthwith and that you should have the use of them.

Third. We offered that we would even construct a new Canal, Caughnawaga, from Lake Champlain to the River St. Lawrence which, when you had constructed the Whitehall Canal and improved the River Hudson, would have given you a waterway from New York to the base of the great grain-bearing prairies of the West.

Fourth. We offered also that there should be included in the Treaty the following articles: Agricultural implements, extracts for tanning purposes, bath brick, brick for building purposes, hay, lime, malt, manufactures of iron and steel, manufactures of iron, steel and wood, manufactures of wood, straw, stone, marble, etc. A considerable list, the value of which many of you will, I am sure, appreciate.

Fifth. We asked also that there should be reciprocal registration of ships and reciprocity in the issuing of patents.

Now, I want to ask you, Sir, and to ask this great audience of mercantile men, whether you do not think that Canada was generous and more than generous in her proposals; and yet she met with the same result, with the same answer, with the same refusal. After the attempts of the Government in 1875, practically, the agitations for Reciprocity ceased to be a leading factor in our politics. The effect of the refusals was that Canadians came to be stronger in their national and industrial life and it became apparent to us that what had seemed to us at the time to have been a serious blow to our prospects was really a boon, for we reached out for other markets and secured them. But the step which we took in 1879 had a still more important effect in lessening the sentiment in favour of a treaty. It was a policy of Protection, a policy in defence of our industries, and those industries began immediately to flourish and extend to such an extent that the value of our home market became more and more apparent to the people.

Nevertheless, when the Fishery Treaty of 1881 was being negotiated, once more the subject of Reciprocity was broached by our representatives and a proposal made that the Fishery difficulty should be settled upon that basis. No details were given as to what Canada's offer would probably be. The language employed by Sir Charles Tupper in describing his efforts in that direction led Parliament, however, to believe that a broad offer in general terms had been made. I now pass on to 1891 when once more negotiations were opened up, three or four members of the Canadian Cabinet being present in Washington for that purpose. Mr. Blaine was then your Secretary of State, and the report of our Commissioners was that the demand made by your Government was such that, had it been acceded to, we should have been compelled to give you terms which were estopped at your demand from extension to the Motherland. This we had a perfect right to do if we wished to do it, but, Sir, no sentiment in Canada existed then, or exists now, which would justify any Government in acceding to any such request. I mention this fact particularly because I know there exists in some parts of the United States misapprehension upon that point. Canada is absolutely free to do as she likes in every way in connection with her tariff legislation.

Thus, Sir, have I gone over the many and various efforts made by the Dominion for a better basis of trade between the two countries. I should add that in 1879 when we put our National Policy upon the Statute Book we placed therein a clause in the following words: "Any or all of the following articles, that is to say: animals, of all kinds, green fruit, hay, straw, bran, seeds of all kinds, vegetables (including potatoes and other roots), plants, trees and shrubs, coal and coke, salt, hops, wheat, peas, and beans, barley, rye, oats, Indian corn, buckwheat and all other grain, flour of wheat and flour of rye, Indian meal and oatmeal, and flour or meal of any other grain, butter, cheese, fish (salted or smoked) lard, tallow, meats (fresh, salted, or smoked) and lumber, may be imported into Canada free of duty, or at a less rate of duty than is provided by this Act, upon proclamation of the Governor-in-Council, which may be issued whenever it appears to his satisfaction that similar articles from Canada may be imported into the United States free of duty or at a rate of duty not exceeding that payable on the same, under such Proclamation, when imported into Canada."

Thus was placed upon our Statute books a standing offer for Reciprocity in a considerable line of articles. You have from time to time placed articles included in this list upon the free list and we have reciprocated by placing them in the free list of our tariff. We found, however, that (perhaps accidentally) you were inclined to select articles which would be advantageous to you and to leave out those in which reciprocal trade would be advantageous to us, and besides we found that occasionally there was the show of reciprocity but not the reality. For instance, while you admitted our peaches free you put a duty on the basket, and while your Federal Government admitted our nursery stock free, we found that the separate States, exercising their rights, imposed handicaps upon our nurserymen. In Dakota a large market bond ($5,000) had to be deposited with the State Government before any agent could sell there any Canadian fruit trees, and in the State of New York, I think, a large agency license was imposed, and these things practically made the action of your Federal Government inoperative to our advantage. I believe, Sir, that the many refusals of the United States to negotiate were due largely to a want of appreciation, an appreciation to which I believe you are now awakening, in the value of our Canadian markets.

It is true, Sir, that there were some men and some newspapers upon your side of the Line which indiscreetly said: "Let us refuse to grant Canada Reciprocity, and she will shortly be knocking for admission politically into our Union." Sir, no more unwise words could have been said. They were not said, and I am glad they were not said, by those in authority. The Canadian people are a hardy, plucky and determined people. They are the descendants, in part, of those grand old explorers, Hennepin, LaSalle, and Verandrye who, westward, with indomitable perseverance and energy carried the torch of civilization; in part of the hardy immigrant pioneers who hewed out their homes in the wilderness; in part of the Canadian Empire Loyalists who left their happy homes and smiling fields upon this side of the Line and began life anew amid a thousand difficulties, rather than desert the flag which their mothers loved and for which their fathers had died; and to the descendants of those men such words as I have quoted meant only that they redoubled their energies and intensified their determination to stand independent and alone, and the result, Sir, was the very opposite of what those who uttered them may have expected.

We reached out for markets in other parts of the world. We reached out to the great consuming market of Great Britain. Let me quote you some figures which show you how we succeeded. Canada sold to the United States, in 1866, $25,000,000 of agricultural products,—in 1902 she sold $7,000,000 of agricultural products to you. In 1867 she sold to Great Britain $3,000,000 of agricultural products; in 1903 she sold to Great Britain $79,000,000 of agricultural products; and each year, in every variety of product, Canada has established herself even more and more successfully in the markets of Great Britain. I am sure, Sir, that I need not hesitate to say that your farmers upon this side of the Line have found us a formidable rival in its markets. She has also established, as I have already told you, her markets at home. We have long since learned that our home market is our best market. We raise altogether $500,000,000 of agricultural products a year; of that $400,000,000 worth are consumed at home, and only $100,000,000 worth exported, and we recognize, Sir, that if we are to become great as a people, that if we are ever to settle profitably the great plains of our West, we must do this more and more. We cannot even depend upon the British market as the consumer of our products. In the next few years we shall be sending abroad 125,000,000 bushels of wheat or its equivalent. When our soil is all under cultivation we shall probably be shipping 800,000,000 bushels of wheat or its equivalent per year and, as Great Britain consumes at best per annum only 175,000,000 to 200,000,000 bushels we recognize that we must look elsewhere, and the judgment of our people is that we must look chiefly and mostly to the great consuming masses who are and will be, in ever-increasing numbers, manufacturing for our farmers in the West.

And now, Sir, what is the result of all our negotiations? A study of the conditions that exist in Canada to-day as well as upon your side of the Line shows that we recognize that no longer are you a great market for us. Your fields have been developed and you are supplying your own artisans, and with what you have to spare you are competing with us in the markets of the world. I see that Mr. Foss says that our wheat is needed by the mills of Minneapolis. But we know as well as Mr. Foss does why our wheat is needed by the mills of Minneapolis. Is it needed because you are not receiving sufficient wheat to supply your own wants? No, Sir, but it is needed because the wheat of the North-West of Canada makes the best flour in the world, and your mills, in order to make the standard of your flour which you export as high as possible, use a certain admixture of Canadian wheat; and this is why you are permitting Canadian wheat to come into this country to be ground in bond, the product of it being shipped abroad and not entering into competition with your home article. It is a high compliment to us, Sir, but it is not evidence that there is a market in this country for the surplus products of the farms of Canada and, besides, may I say that we are Canadians, even if to be a Canadian is a little selfish. The more Canadian wheat is used the higher standard your exported flour reaches and, candidly, let me ask you a question. Would it not be better for us to ship our own manufactured flour? Would it not be better for us to employ our own mills and our own people? And that, Sir, is undoubtedly our policy as a Dominion. As our rapidly-growing milling concerns indicate, we have 2,500 milling industries, some of which will grind 300 barrels per day, very many 200 barrels per day. Their output increased from $39,000,000 in 1871 to $80,000,000 in 1903.

Let me give you some more figures, which will indicate to you that Canada does not look with longing eyes, as she once did, to your market for her products. Of grain and bread-stuffs sold in 1903 to the markets of the world, amounting to $41,000,000, you purchased of us $1,320,000 worth. Of $10,000,000 worth of cattle you bought only $120,000 worth; of butter, eggs, and cheese, out of $46,000,000 worth you purchased only $77,000 worth; and of $5,000,000 worth of fruit shipped out of her own domain you bought only $220,000 worth. Out of her large quantity of meats of the kind sold in the markets of the world during 1902 and 1903 she sold you only 992,000 pounds, while we purchased from you 29,550,000 pounds. I am sure that I need not say to you that these are startling figures. Even more startling are the other figures that, taking the total trade as between the two countries, the facts are that each Canadian family buys nearly 40 times as much of United States products of all kinds as each United States family buys of Canadian products.

That there is an agitation in favour of Reciprocity in Massachusetts may be taken for granted, but why has that agitation sprung up? Let Mr. Foss explain. I quote from his speech made in Minneapolis: "Our manufacturers have been too busy to give much effort or thought to the subject, but from now on, for a period, times will not be so flush, there will be less business and more time for thought, there will be fewer words and more effort to think. This will turn attention to Reciprocity which promises to open foreign markets." In other words, Sir, the anxiety is for markets for your manufactures. This is not disguised, nor would it be possible to disguise the fact that that is why Reciprocity is being agitated here. I listened with a very great deal of pleasure to your Vice-President Elect, the Hon. Mr. Fairbanks, who delivered a splendid speech at the Home Market Club, and what did Mr. Fairbanks say upon the subject of Reciprocity? He said, in effect, that it was the desire of the Government of the United States to extend trade wherever the extensions could be made without injury to American industries.

Sir, we are anxious to extend trade in Canada, but we are anxious to extend it only by means which will not injure our Canadian industries, and we will not injure or destroy our Canadian industries, which have become such an important part of our national make-up, for the advantages of trade in any part of the world. Let me say to you and say unhesitatingly, that Canada does not dream of opening up her industries to the keen and destructive competition of the United States or of any other country. It is true a larger trade may be done with you. There are many things we need to buy from you upon which we may lower the duty; there are many things which you need to purchase from us and you can facilitate the purchase by lowering your duties. And besides, all hope is past, Sir, and I say it most emphatically, of any arrangement which would tie Canada's hands for the future and render her incapable of maintaining her own industries at home or of entering into advantageous arrangements with other parts of the world.

There was a time when you could have had the market of Canada upon terms which I have already quoted. You were then a giant slumbering in the mountains of your own prosperity and indifference. I tell you honestly that you slumbered too long. Canada is now so busy herself that she does not hear you knocking at her door for wider trade. There is no political party in Canada to-day agitating for Reciprocity. In the late Dominion elections where 400 and more Canadians contested constituencies and appealed for public favour, I did not hear of one whose platform was Reciprocity. No leader spoke upon the subject in the campaign and indeed it was not mentioned except when here and there some one expressed thankfulness that the proposals made in the past had not been accepted.

The *Shareholder,* an independent financial journal in the great City of Montreal, which is not allied with either political party, in its last issue, in the words which I quote, expresses the real and genuine sentiments of the people of the Dominion. Here are the words: "We believe that so far as the people of the Dominion are concerned any proposition relating to extended trade relations between the two countries should be rejected. The cost of any advantage we could possibly gain from Reciprocity would be more than it is worth." You gentlemen who read the Toronto *Globe* (in my opinion a very poor paper), will see in it this morning practically a re-affirming of what I have just quoted from the *Shareholder*. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister of Canada, some time ago declared that " Canada no longer desired Reciprocity." He also said: " Well, we have tried to get Reciprocity. We have approached the United States. We will approach them no more. They will now if they want it approach us. We shall receive them politely."

Need I tell you that Reciprocity is incompatable with Canadian aspirations for a consolidated Empire on trade lines; as it now exists on lines of sentiment. Canada is anxious, and anxious with hope, that the grand scheme of colonial and preferential trade so ably being battled for by Mr. Chamberlain will succeed. We hold these views without hostility to you, but we hold them strongly and we look forward to the time when we, upon our products in the market of Great Britain, will receive better terms than you do. The desire for the consummation of that grand scheme of Imperial breadth is, we admit, partly due to the material advantages which we may derive from it, but let me tell you also that as members of the Empire we are anxious for it for broader and still better reasons. This plan of Imperial and Colonial union is, I have said, conceived in no hostility to you—no hostility to any nation under the sun. With the people of the Mother-land we are kith and kin; between us is the electric current of common Empire and common Imperial aspirations.

In the open field we have both met the severe and stern competition of the trading nations of the globe. We are natural customers of each other, and in addition we are bound by ties of political union. Would you not expect us to consolidate in defence of trade as we would consolidate in the defence of attack? Besides, all our efforts in Canada have been towards a United Empire. We were the prime movers, and among the heaviest contributors, in the Pacific Cable, which puts us practically within speaking distance of the great British Colonies in the Antipodes and ties Australia to us and to England by another and an important tie. I have heard it said that this plan of Mr. Chamberlain is one that is to be imposed upon the Colonies. In this policy action is taken at the request of the Colonies, as the resolution passed at the Conference of the Empire by the Colonial Premiers attests. It is our plan, for ourselves, for the Empire.

May I say one word as to a certain opinion which was recently expressed in the Boston *Herald*. I do not believe that the opinion there expressed emanated from any responsible party, rather would I believe that it emanated from some one who was irresponsible and unthinking. The opinion is expressed in these words: " But the indications are that the awakening of American statesmen has come, the contest is on, and the grand prize is Canada, nominally commercial Canada, but actually the political Dominion." Sir, I should be less than a Canadian if I did not, for my own people, resent this expression of opinion. What would you think of Canadians, of their national pride, of their patriotism, if that did not stir them to the core? Supposing to-morrow a country 20 times the size of yours in population, in wealth, in strength, made any such proposal as the one I have quoted, what would be your answer? Sir, it would stir to intensity every fibre of your being. You would sing " My Country, 'tis of Thee " with still greater energy than you have sung it to-night. You would raise the Stars and Stripes, the flag you love, still higher and nearer to the blue. You would light the fires of patriotism upon every elevated spot from Bunker's Hill to the Golden Gate, and by the memory of all the great heroes whose fame is found recorded in the pages of your national history, from Washington to McKinley, you would swear anew allegiance to the flag you love. Sir, in the cheers with which you greet my words is to be found the answer of Canada, for Canada is British, her people are British, her hopes are British, and she believes it to be her duty to contribute her influence, be it great or be it small, towards the perpetuation for all time of British institutions upon the Continent of America.

One thought more. If to-morrow Canada were to consent to change all her plans, desert her claims of trade which have cost her so much to secure, give up her hold upon the markets which she now has, and join with you; what would you guarantee her in the way of permanency? Nothing at all. When all our lines are down again, when the course of our commerce at your request has been changed, when we have deserted old friends for new ones, then some fine morning we should probably awaken to find that, as in 1866, our market with you had ceased; only it would be more serious now than then, because in the meantime our industries would have been ruined. And, to the end of perpetuating institutions here it is our desire—yea, more, our determination—to built a great auxiliary British nation upon the northern half of this Continent. What are our materials?

1. There are a quarter million square miles of territory, one-third of the British Empire, a territory larger than your own.

2. Institutions as free as any under which men live to-day.

3. A system of education which prepares alike the poor and the rich for the duties of citizenship and the occupations of life.

4. Minerals in abundance; hundreds of square miles of coal yet untouched; in addition to our present areas which are being operated.

5. Gold in almost every Province, our production last year being second among the nations to that of your country and Australia.

6. Nickel, admittedly the richest deposits that are known.

7. Timber, majestic forests that yielded in 1903 a harvest of $80,000,000. In pulp wood, alone, our statisticians estimate that we have sufficient to make 4,500,000,000 tons of pulp which, at the present rate of consumption of the United States and Great Britain, could supply them for half a thousand years.

8. We are now sending you 1,000,000 cords per year but we are strongly inclined to adopt such a policy as

shall manufacture this at home by the labour of our own people.

9. Agricultural lands! There lies an empire in itself, 265,000,000 acres yet to be ploughed, each acre rich with the accumulated fertility of the centuries.

10. Fisheries, of coast and river and lake, that yielded last year over $35,000,000 of treasure, and that offer the very best training and recruiting ground for the Navy.

11. Almost countless water powers that are being harnessed as the servants and handmaidens of industry.

12. Nineteen thousand miles of railway with probably eleven thousand miles more to follow within the coming decade.

13. Six million of people hardy, intelligent, God-fearing.

14. A climate that produces strong muscle, and healthy brains, and that makes the home life the main foundation of our nation, vigorous, strong and pure.

These, Sir, are our possessions! These are the possessions that lie at the bottom of our determination to build a nation. These, Sir, together with a history of creditable progress, are our reasons for looking upon Canada as a young giant scarcely conscious of his own strength, rising to enter the Olympian game of the nations. A game into which we are bound he shall enter with his hands unmanacled, with his feet untied by entangling alliances, for the struggle and the race. These are the things that have fired us with the spirit of a song which once rang through your land in a trying time:

For the birthright yet unsold!
For the history yet untold!
For the future yet unfurled!
Put it through!

Lieut.-Colonel George T. Denison.

ADDRESS BY LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE T. DENISON.

Mr. President and Members of the Empire Club,—

I have very great pleasure once again to have the opportunity of saying a few words to you. I have been very much pleased indeed, and I thank the management of the Club for bringing our friend, Mr. Foss, over here from the United States to tell us his view of this question and to let us know what our friends on the other side are thinking about, and I must say that I am very much pleased with the whole tone of his remarks. All through them was a kindly spirit of friendship to our country that I cannot speak too highly of. I hope that that feeling is reciprocated by us. I hope that in all I may say, in the few remarks that I am about to make, which may seem not altogether to agree with the views of Mr. Foss, that they are not made in any spirit of hostility to the United States, but solely, looking at things from the interest of my own native country, in the interests of this Canada of ours and of the Empire of which it forms a most important part; and not from any spirit of hostility to any other country in the world.

I would like to say one or two words about my friend, Dr. Montague. I am quite sure it has been a great pleasure to you all, as it has been to me, to have heard from him the verbatim report of the speech that he made in the State of Massachusetts a fortnight ago when he, a solitary Canadian, I suppose, at that meeting, got up to speak for Canada among the strangers. His speech has been bold, clear, distinct and filled with Canadian patriotism, and I think we are all under an obligation to him that on that occasion he represented us so clearly and so well. You have been kept very long so I will only say but a few words. My friend Mr. Foss put the case from the United States point of view very clearly and I was very much interested in it because I have not heard that side of it a very great deal.

It carries my mind back through history to another period. If we go back something like fifty or sixty years we go back to the time when Cobden and Bright started the great agitation in England of what you might call their Reciprocity, but they did not put it in that way; they put it as free trade. Certainly that was Reciprocity to every country in the world, nearly, whether they chose to give anything in return or not. Why did Cobden and Bright do that? Simply because before that time there were no great manufacturing nations in the world. England was the manufacturing nation practically for all the world. She had the control of the sea, she had the control of capital, she had the genius, she had the machinery, capital, plant and everything; while the other nations of Europe had all been rent asunder and torn fore and aft with the great Napoleonic Wars and with other wars which had followed them, and they were all broken up into a collection of little states and never did anything to develop their national industries; only carrying on small, little trades amongst them while England carried on trade for almost all the world.

The United States had not yet had an opportunity of developing their manufactures; the war stopped them for a long time. Mr. Cobden in some ways was a wise man, and I don't think he was altogether such a fool as he seems to appear, when you come to see how his proposition reads. Now, I myself do not believe that Cobden thought he would be able to get every country in the world to join him in free trade, but Mr. Cobden saw that England had the control and that she had the stock, and if she could only bunco the nations of the earth into the policy of free trade, and if she could make them all believe it was on account of free trade she was making such tremendous progress, she would have maintained the manufacturing markets of the world.

But, gentlemen, what happened? As soon as the war was over in the United States and shortly after the war was over in Germany, those countries began to develop their manufactures; and, gentlemen, they did it by protection, clear protection. Bismarck, a great ruler, a man who united a great empire, forced protection into Germany and made her a great manufacturing country.

Protection has grown also in every country in the world, but in no country to anything like the extent that it has been carried in the United States. I think we gather from Mr. Foss' remarks to-night that in the United States, now, they have got tremendous plant, tremendous capital, tremendous machinery, tremendous organization—everything magnificently organized and developed to carry on trade. She has got things in such a way that it would be almost impossible, if she reduced her duties one-half, that any other countries could very well come in and compete with her. She says, now, we ought to have Reciprocity. Well, from the point of view of the United States I think she is perfectly right.

I think Mr. Foss is doing a patriotic duty for his country in asking of us that we should pull down our tariffs and let their manufacturers come in here. But, gentlemen, I say, speaking as a Canadian, that I would not be doing my duty, I would not be true to my position as a citizen of this great and growing country if I didn't do everything in my power to appeal to my fellow-citizens to stand first by the interests we have got; to stand first by Canadian interests and to try to do what the United States have done in the last thirty or forty years, build up Canada to be as big a country as the United States. Why shouldn't it be? Now, gentlemen, we talk about the question of Reciprocity. I want to say a word or two about that and why we wanted Reciprocity. England established free trade about the year 1846 or 1847, and what happened? We had had a little trifling preference in English markets for our grain before. It didn't amount to much, but it helped us here.

Then we saw we were put on exactly the same basis in the Mother Country that the United States was. Well, with this hundred years start they had over us, with greater population, with greater facilities, they began to draw the whole business of Great Britain, her emigration, her capital, her wealth, her influence, to build up that country. Do you think they built it up themselves? Not at all. It was built up by the number of people that went in there—the millions that went in there with money, followed by millions of capital, most of which went from Great Britain in there; and we were forgotten, ignored, a small country, and very anxious to have Reciprocity with the United States because England at the time had turned her back upon us. That was the reason we wanted it. Then we couldn't get it and we struggled along and we saw hard times, and you may remember, those of you who are old enough, how hard times were in the seventies, and at last it suddenly dawned upon the people of Canada that they should have a national policy, that they should look after the interests of Canada; and the people, led by that Father of Confederation, Sir John A. Macdonald, succeeded, and ever since this country has been progressing.

Every day we are getting stronger and more powerful; every day we are feeling more confidence in ourselves; and as I used to say here fifteen or twenty years ago when they talked about commercial union—gentlemen, we have gone through all the hard times, we have struggled along under every disadvantage, and now the time has come when we are beginning to get on our feet. When we are beginning to be able to walk, I said, are we, the Canadian people, going to be so weak and so poor and so shallow-minded as, right on the very threshold of a glorious career, to sacrifice all our national aspirations and put ourselves in a position to be dependent upon any nation on earth? We began ten years ago to do what? Not to look for Reciprocity any more, but we decided it would be a good thing for us to try to form a sort of commercial union or reciprocity with all the rest of our Empire; to try to build it up, to try to get preferential tariffs, and, gentlemen, it is just lately that we have begun to see that the agitation is spreading in Great Britain; we see that we have got the greatest statesman England has produced for a century, nearly, taking the lead in this movement; going out of office, giving up office and place and going before the people and appealing to them to stand by the Empire, to unite this great Empire together.

Gentlemen, while he himself, as he tells me, does not seem to think he may carry it just at once, yet in two or three years when they can get the air cleared and get a new Government in and have the question fought out on its merits, he and other friends of mine in England, who write to me, tell me that they will be absolutely sure of carrying it in the course of a very few years. If that is the case are we going to stand true, stand firm, stand by the idea of uniting our Empire or not? I am quite satisfied, gentlemen, that we are, more particularly because I am quite satisfied that the movement in favour of Reciprocity with the United States has become much more interesting to the people of that country since Mr. Chamberlain has come out with this proposition of his.

Now, all I would say is this: The people in this country on both sides of politics—and I am an old Canada First man, belonging to neither party—I say that the people of this country on both sides of politics, and of no politics, are all united in the idea of standing by Preferential trade; and we are all united in the idea, at the present time at any rate, and I hope for all time to come, of linking our trade in no way with the United States so that there shall be an enticement to interfere with us. If they want to cut off any of their duties, in God's name, let them do it, but let us Canadians be free in every little thing we want to do; let us preserve our freedom all the time; we have got such chances before us. I was so pleased to hear Dr. Montague's account of the way he told them what there was in this country. Just think of it, gentlemen, speaking of dominant races Canada extends from the latitude of Rome, on its southerly boundary, to the north pole. Just think of that! Now if you go carefully to Europe and take the latitude of Rome and take all the countries of France, England, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Austria, I ask you where the power and strength and dominance of Europe lies? Is it in the north or is it on the Mediterranean and in the northern part of Africa?

No, gentlemen, with all respect for the United States, and I must say they are a great and wonderful people, with all that they have done, with all the magnificent progress they have made, with all the tremendous development they have shown in almost every walk in life, with all that—and they deserve every credit and I am sure we all admire them for it—still, let us as Canadians never lose hope, let us as Canadians look forward to the time, as Dr. Montague says, when we will have one hundred or one hundred and fifty million people, and then let us look around at each other and see what a fine race of people we will be. Let us have perfect confidence and let that be our ideal, of creating on this Continent a great British country; and if we are united with the Empire just look at the map of the world and see the way the Empire is placed and think of the position of Canada. It is the key-stone of the arch; it is the back-bone of the whole thing. If the Empire is ever united you will find that the trade of that Empire will go backwards and forwards pulsating through Canada. You will see trade passing from east to west over our railroads. We are getting a third trans-continental railroad, we will have four or five more before very long, and all opening up the country. And our roads, remember, are very many, many miles shorter than any roads that go through the southern part of this Continent. I tell you I am quite satisfied you will see this, no, you won't see it, some of you are getting too old; but the day will come when Canada will be the very heart, the strength, the centre of that great Empire. I am quite sure of it, the position on the map shows it.

Now, I will not say anything more this evening. I want once more to say that I hope my friend, Mr. Foss, will not think in anything I have said, in this way, that there is anything more than just a good loyal Canadian feeling from our own standpoint, not anything against the United States. It makes no matter how large or how powerful they may grow. If we get on as friendly as we have it is all right. I think most of the little things that might have made trouble are pretty well settled. The Alaskan Boundary is settled, I don't think

THE HON. SIR EDWARD P. MORRIS, K.C.M.G., K.C.,
Minister of Justice for Newfoundland,

very unfairly myself; the other matters have all been settled with reference to territory. We didn't altogether get the best of it in the Maine business; but all these things are done and I see no reason why we cannot live alongside of each other and get along very comfortably, and we will supply them anything they choose to take the duty off; and I am sure our people will be willing to do the same; but in the meantime we must put first and above all the interests of our own country.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. SIR EDWARD P. MORRIS, K.C.M.G., K.C., MINISTER OF JUSTICE IN NEWFOUNDLAND.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I have always understood, and from my short experience known, that the City of Toronto has no equal in Canada in point of hospitality to strangers; and on the two occasions on which I have visited this city I have been struck with the desire on the part of its people to extend to strangers, sister colonists if you will, the hospitality and advantages which are so easily discernible by the strangers to your City. But I had no idea when I was invited here this evening to listen to the very eloquent and instructive addresses with which we have been regaled that I should have the further honour of addressing you. Perhaps I should not say addressing you for the reason that I do not propose to make any lengthy observations, first because I understand, gentlemen, that the time is past the limit of the meeting. Secondly, the matters which you have been discussing are so important that I feel that I would be rash and perhaps taking risks like the man in the story, so eloquently told us here to-night by Dr. Montague. I should be taking risks if I were to attempt to enter into the discussion in detail of the problems discussed here this evening. Then again I am confronted with this position: The fight appears here to-night to be between Canada and the United States, and Newfoundland has very little to do with it, and I am not quite so sure either that the suggestion that I should make a few observations here to-night did not come from my friend, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Morine, with a view to my getting into trouble! It is not often that we are as near each other as we are to-night.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have been more than interested in listening to the magnificent addresses that we have heard here this evening. In the first place I was more than instructed and entertained by the speech of Mr. Foss, from the United States. It was an eloquent, interesting, and philosophical study of the whole tariff question; and then I had an opportunity of listening for the first time to the able and eloquent addresses of the gentlemen who followed him; and for me to be suddenly called upon to give a decision as to the merits of the case puts me almost in the position of the man in the story that I now recall, and although it is a risk to tell a story following on one told by Dr. Montague—but in that case I take it that the lady concerning whom there were doubts of recovery had not been treated by a medical man. The story I recall is the story of a man who in life had two wives to whom he had been equally devoted and with whom he had lived for about the same number of years and on the most friendly terms. When he was dying himself, both of these ladies having predeceased him, he was asked where he would like to be buried. "Well," he said, "bury me between the two of them but a little on the side of Biddy!"

Now, I think Mr. Chairman, I am a little on the side of Biddy as put by Dr. Montague, and I think I must agree with what I have heard of the arguments. In fact all that he has said points to the conclusion that the correct policy for Canada is the National Policy referred to by him and the unification or partial unification of the British Empire; and indeed, Mr. Chairman, on a small scale that has been the destiny of the country that I represent also. We are endeavouring down there, if small things can be compared to great, to so work out our destiny. I think that the speech that has been made by Dr. Montague to-night, if delivered to various audiences in Newfoundland, would not to any very large extent help to bring about what the Chairman is so anxious for, namely, Confederation, because the people down there having heard of the disintegration of the Roman Empire and remembering that they are north of Canada, and with territory larger than England, and considering that Labrador is nearly as large as the Russian Empire, we too have great hopes of building a great nation.

Dr. Montague: That will make the United States third.

Mr. Morris: Dr. Montague has a little anticipated me because that is the point I was about to reach. When our population has increased to millions, when we are raising wheat down on Labrador, under glass if you will, and when we have short-line railways and fast steamers connecting with England, and our people have grown to an extensive population, millions if you like, when we have battleships and armies we will extend to Canada that same good fellowship and brotherhood that Canada no doubt will sometime before us be extending to the United States. But up to the present time, Mr. Chairman, in Newfoundland we have not been called upon really to decide the exact position Newfoundland should take. In reference to the great fiscal policy now being promulgated by Mr. Chamberlain, we are wooed on both sides. We have friends in England and friends in the United States, and in Canada, and it would be, as I say, risky for me to give expression here to-night to any very pronounced opinion. Newfoundland is on the very best terms with the United States; on the other hand she is on the very best terms with Canada. Newfoundland always remembers that when troubles and trials were upon the land, and upon the people, that they met with kindly response from Canada and especially from Toronto, and I say that good-fellowship and good feeling exists.

But at the same time Newfoundland looks to the United States for great advantages to flow from the ratification and adoption of the Treaty which has been signed on two occasions by two Secretaries of State for the United States. As you know, under that Treaty nearly all our products would go into the United States duty free. We look forward, I say, to that Reciprocity Treaty being sanctioned and ratified some day and we believe that great good will come to both countries from it. At the same time there is nothing in that Treaty in any way which affects Canada or any portion of the British Empire. When the question arises, when it will become concrete matter, or matter that can be formally discussed or entertained, as to the part that Newfoundland takes in the fiscal policy of Mr. Chamberlain I have no doubt that Newfoundland will be prepared to consider it.

Mr. Chairman, I didn't intend when I stood up to do more than thank you for the honour which you have conferred upon me in allowing me to be present here this evening, and also in having the honour of addressing this Empire Club. I am in a small way myself an Empire man. I believe in the policy of Mr. Chamberlain as far as it has been outlined in its effects on Canada. I think Canada is doing the right thing in the policy that is now being adopted and I look forward to the day when a great deal of what has been hoped for by the various speakers will be accomplished.

ADDRESS BY MR. R. J. YOUNGE, SECRETARY, CANADIAN MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION, TORONTO.

Mr. President, Mr. Foss, and Members of the Empire Club,—

I shall not speak to you very long to-night because the hour is late and many of you have perhaps been detained longer than you expected. I am sure, however, that the time has not seemed long, and that we have listened with the deepest interest to all of the addresses which have been delivered. The address of Mr. Foss, I am sure, none of us can help but appreciate. He has given to us the views of the American manufacturers, to a certain extent his own. He has given to us what we are pleased to learn from his lips to be the sentiment of the people of the great Republic to the south. I am sure we can agree with him to-night that if we are not to have reciprocity of goods between Canada and the United States we can at least have reciprocity of brains, which after all tends toward the settlement of those greater questions which stand on a higher plane than trade or commerce.

It is an evidence of this kindly sentiment which exists in the United States that he, the acknowledged leader of the Reciprocity movement in the United States, is here to-night in the Empire Club of Canada—a Club which stands for Imperial Unity between Great Britain and her Colonies—and I am sure if Mr. Foss had done nothing else than come and join with us in the repast which we have had to-night; if we had seen nothing more of him than the beam of his kindly face; we would have had a better opinion of the splendid sentiment of the people to the south of us; and he also has perhaps learned something of the strong Canadian sentiment expressed by the eloquent address of Dr. Montague, and the soldierly speech of Colonel Denison. Now I think, Mr. Chairman, that there is little or nothing left for me to say. We are not here to listen to statistics. You have had some splendid examples of statistical information tonight; they have shown us the state of trade between Canada and the United States in the past; they have shown us the tendencies of Canadian trade in the last few years; that we have built our railways not from north to south but from east to west, that we have cultivated markets across the sea; for one reason that we find the great doors of the United States Republic with their consuming 80,000,000 of people closed to our small producing population.

Men are creatures of circumstance. Canada, like the United States, must be governed by her conditions, and I am sure it has been conclusively shown to Mr. Foss, and in a kindly spirit also, that the position of Canada to-day, with the vast resources which we have to develop, with the splendid ports which we have on both sides of us, and with the spirit of British integrity which pervades our people, warrants us in following the natural course of events and developing our own resources in the building up of a British-Canadian nation on the north half of this Continent. There is one remark with regard to the development of our industries that I would like to make. Mr. Foss, a manufacturer, assailing a policy of protection is, I must say, an exception. The manufacturers whom I meet, generally, are men who want protection, who believe in it, and why? Because they are fighting for their very existence in this country. The industries in the United States have long since passed the mark where they control their home market. They are sending goods to almost every market under the sun.

In Canada what are the conditions? It has a comparatively small manufacturing population, but looking over the vast manufacturing industries which are to-day competing with the cheap labour of Europe and with the highly specialized and over-producing industries of the United States, it is not fair to the people of Canada —and I am sure that unfairness will be recognized by the keen business men on the other side of the Line—to place before the people of this country a proposition with regard to reciprocity in lines where the conditions are absolutely different, and so divergent, that the two countries cannot be placed on the same plane. It is an undisputed fact, gentlemen, to me as one endeavouring to study the policy of protection and its effect on any market, that the very points of excellence which were noted by the visitors from Great Britain in connection with the iron and steel industries of the United States, the extent of that industry, the growing home market, the high wages; I say it is an undisputed fact that as we have applied protection in this country these are the very conditions which we have produced; and the growth of the industries in the United States is entirely due to the development and the adoption of the policy of protection in that country.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I just wish to say one word. Mr. Foss paid an eloquent tribute to the welding powers of the Anglo-Saxon race as such and I am sure that we must agree with him. We have, I hope, the kindliest feeling towards the United States people. He has told us they have the kindliest feelings towards us. It is not impossible that the relations existing between Canada and the United States may lead to a greater union. In paying a compliment to the welding powers of the Anglo-Saxon race we might point out to Mr. Foss that the great Anglo-Saxon combination is already established and that if the United States, the oldest daughter of Great Britain, should make a proposition to join that combination I am sure it will be considered; and I can only say that the establishment of such an Empire would be the greatest guarantee of peace that the world has ever seen. Then the United States would not only be next to the key-stone of the arch and the back-bone of the world, but she would be also part of the great Empire to which we belong. I thank you.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. A. B. MORINE, K.C., M.L.A., LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION IN NEWFOUNDLAND.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Having experienced the hospitality of Toronto last year, I was only anxious to bring my friend, Sir Edward Morris, here that he might know as I did how kind you were; that he might have a share of the pleasure which the invitation here to-night promised to me. I had no idea whatever that he would be called upon to speak, but if I had thought so I should still have asked him to come; because I knew he would reflect credit upon his native land, the little Colony from which we both come. I assure you I had no desire whatever to entrap him into a premature expression of his opinion upon the Bond-Hay Treaty which is now being revived in the United States of America. I should like to say here, because I feel in myself the sentiment which is throbbing through this meeting and which was so well expressed by Dr. Montague, that I do not, have not in the past, taken the same view of the Bond-Hay Treaty or the Bond-Blaine Treaty as it was called in the past, that the Government of Newfoundland does and that my friend, Sir E. Morris, does.

I feel that, however much they may promise the present benefit to the Colony of Newfoundland to be, it is fraught with great danger to the future of Newfoundland, and to its development, just as the propositions for Reciprocity to which Dr. Montague has referred in this country were fraught with great, though unseen danger to Canada at the time they were made. Those propositions to which he refers were made in a short-sighted way without eyes that looked forward into the future with discernment; they did not see what a great nation Canada was going to be in the very near future; and all Canadians I believe are glad to-night that the propositions then made were not accepted. Just as I feel all Newfoundlanders will be ultimately grateful if the propositions made to Newfoundland are not accepted down there. I did not intend on this occasion to discuss a purely local question, but I thought I ought to take the first occasion to intimate to my friends, Sir E. Morris and the Government, that as usual, I would be found doing business in the Opposition shop.

I have been charged to-night with the onerous but grateful task of moving a vote of thanks to the speaker of the evening, the guest of the Club, Mr. Foss, and gentlemen, I assure you I make that motion with very great personal pleasure. It has been a delight to listen to his speech that I think may truly be dominated great —great in thought and great in courage—because it required a great deal of personal courage for an American to make to a Canadian audience the confession Mr. Foss has made here to-night. At the same time it is great in thought and as a statement of what true protection is I think in principle must be admitted to be correct. I think, with the sentiments which he has expressed, with the doctrines which he has laid down as to what is the object and the aim and what should be the end of protection, we must all agree in this country. Colonel Denison has referred to Cobden and the doctrines which he preached in his day; doctrines which under the circumstances were wise doctrines. I think we may say Mr. Foss bids fair to become the Cobden of the United States, for the circumstances of the United States justify the doctrine Mr. Foss preaches.

If I were an American citizen I should say "Amen" to every word he says and vote every time for the doctrines which he has preached here; just as I say "Amen" to the doctrine Dr. Montague preached to an American audience. As I listened I hardly knew which to admire the most, Mr. Foss talking to us here in Canada or Dr. Montague talking to the Americans in the State of Massachusetts. I concluded there was no need for drawing any distinction between them because they were both speaking with courage and wisdom; they were both speaking the right doctrines for the different countries they represented and under the circumstances which existed in those different countries. It appears to me Mr. Foss' doctrine that he is preaching here to-night is a great plea that the United States should change the policy which was good and great in the past but which is now unsuited to its circumstances in a large measure.

I think that we, in tariff matters, ought to be opportunists. We ought to be free traders when free trade is good and protectionists when protection is good. Protection has been good for the United States, but as Mr. Foss himself says, they have come to the parting of the ways and there is reason now why in the United States, the greatest manufacturing country in the world, as England was when Cobden preached free trade—free trade would be good for its people. But just as protection was good for the United States of America under her circumstances a few years ago it appears to me to be good for this country at this time. What was the principle laid down by Mr. Foss? It was this; he said that you should protect your infant industries. Well, in this country in comparison—and comparisons are what we ought to go by—in comparison with our great competitor on the south of the Line all our industries are infant and therefore all our industries are still in a state requiring protection. Then, again, I agree with Mr. Foss in saying that there are certain industries, which he denominates as pauper industries, which no country should protect. Those, I understand him, to be industries not natural to the soil and climate of their respective countries. We will say "Amen" to that. They have found on their side of the Line by experience what are pauper industries. I suppose in the United States any industry which cannot stand without protection may be denominated, in the sense in which Mr. Foss uses those words, as a pauper industry, because they have tried protection for a great many years; they have prospered; they are a great country; they have a great population.

We on this side have not arrived at the stage when we know what a pauper industry is because we have not had protection long enough; we have not the population on this side; we have not the field for development. And then, I say, it appears to me that Mr. Foss and Dr. Montague do not disagree one iota in principle. According to Mr. Foss it is time for the United States to take down the bars of protection and let pauper industries die out and be transplanted to other countries, because those industries that are not alien have been sufficiently protected. We on our side have a right to continue protection and increase it and have the right to allow our country to develop until we have demonstrated what are pauper industries, and then we will take down our bars. That is the doctrine of Mr. Foss and Dr. Montague. They do not differ; it is only the circumstances of the two countries which differ.

Then it appears to me that while Mr. Foss has given a most eloquent and decisive reason why the United States should now abandon protection in a large measure he has given the most eloquent and cogent reason why this country should not endeavour to enter into Reciprocity with the United States. Why should it endeavour to enter into Reciprocity? Mr. Foss is an honest man, a frank man, as frank to us as he is in his speech to his neighbours on the other side; he says he thinks Reciprocity would be good because the United States wants to deal with us, because they want to sell over here; and he says on the other hand he thinks it would be good for us because we have things which we can sell over there. In other words he puts it upon the safe, the selfish, but perfectly honest principle, as between business men, that each country will do what is best for itself. Well, then, we need no reciprocity treaty, because it is not possible to frame a reciprocity treaty to-day between these two countries which will suit the conditions of these countries next year. From day to day our conditions will be changing and therefore we are not now able to enter into a reciprocity treaty in which we can define what will be good for Canada a year from to-day.

There is no need of a reciprocity treaty for another reason, and that is, that the United States has found its pauper industries, which it should cease to protect in the interest of the United States itself, and they need no treaty with Canada to bring that about. Let them put the product on their free list and the work is done. If we on our hand find out, as we will find out from time to time—when I say "we" I speak as one of yourselves as I am Canadian born—when we from day to day find that there are pauper industries growing up in this country then we shall put them on the free list, and we shall be at greater liberty to do so if we have no reciprocity treaty than if we had one. It would tie our hands for good, or ill, as the case may be, whereas, if we have no treaty, if we are opportunists, if we create effectively a chamber such as Mr. Foss told us the United States is now about creating, a standing Tariff Commission with power to change from time to time; that is infinitely better than any Reciprocity Treaty that stretches over a term of years, which is created by men that do not understand the conditions that may help us in the future; and a tariff instead of a reciprocity treaty will allow us to make our changes from time to time. It appears to me therefore that these two speakers, great and eloquent to-night, are entirely at one in the essence of their policy; that the only difference is that one speaks from the American standpoint and the other from the Canadian standpoint.

I am sure, gentlemen, if you will excuse me for adding this, that we all reciprocate the kindly spirit with which Mr. Foss has referred to our international relations. We would not be worthy of our position as the elder son of the Empire, as it is put, if we did not honour and admire and love our recreant brother across the Line. We all look to the United States, the offspring of the loins of the Old Country as one of the greatest nations in the world. We will not, we could not admit he is greater than the Old Country, but that next to the Old Country there is no country like the United States and no flag like the Stars and Stripes; and I trust, Sir, that we shall always live under the happiest circumstances towards one another; that there shall always prevail between these two countries a friendly spirit—a national friendly spirit and a personal friendly spirit; for, Sir, I am satisfied that the day is far distant when there will be any political union or when there will be any such commercial union as will tie our hands and prevent our development in this country.

We need not enter now into the question of which is going to be the greater, the country to the south or the north. Let us both strive to be great and we may leave the question as to which is to have predominance for the future to develop. I would like to say furthermore that I agree with the great policy of which Mr. Chamberlain is the apostle. I should like to see nothing done within the borders of the Empire which can in any way threaten that policy. It is because I believe that in a small way our little Colony in adopting a Treaty with the Americans would be running somewhat counter to that policy that I have been opposed to it in the past. I believe that not only should every Colony of the Empire be prepared to trade with the Mother-country, but be prepared to trade with every other Colony in the Empire, and that it should have as one of the first principles of its commercial policy that not only will we do towards one another that which is friendly, but do nothing towards foreign nations which can in any sense be detrimental to any part of the Empire no matter how small it may be.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I feel that at this late hour I have trespassed altogether too much upon your kindly attention in addressing you here, but I wish to repeat again that I have listened to-night with the greatest delight to the great speeches we have heard. I agree with every word said by both of the gentlemen. If I were an American I should vote for Mr. Foss; if I were a Canadian I should vote for Dr. Montague's policy. I feel that being neither in my political adhesion at the present time, and being simply a Newfoundlander standing on the outside who sees generally the most of the game, I feel it is safe for Canada to go on in the course which she is now pursuing. I am a young man only twenty years away from this country, but twenty years ago there was no national spirit in Canada; twenty years ago one party was trying to create a national spirit. But to-day I return to Canada to find there is no party at all on the question of national spirit but that each is rivalling the other; and I return to feel that whatever may be said of one party or the other, in the great policy of "Canada for the Canadians" there is no division of opinion whatever, but only a generous rivalry which promises great things for the future of the Dominion. I thank you for the kindness with which you have listened to me. I fear if I returned to Toronto I should become a great bore. But in thanking you for your kindness to me I call upon you, after the remarks which Mr. Ellis will make, to accord in the name of this Club, and I am sure I may add in the name of each and all of you individually, a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Foss for the great honour he has done in coming here to address this Club, and the great satisfaction and pleasure which his eloquent speech has given to us to-night.

ADDRESS BY MR. P. W. ELLIS.

Mr. Chairman,—

It gives me great pleasure to join with the Honourable Mr. Morine in the very eloquent vote of thanks he has moved to Mr. Foss, whom I think I can assure that we Britishers, born out of Great Britain, welcome most heartily this evening. We have listened with the greatest interest to the Reciprocity question as viewed in the United States by one of her leading manufacturers; and I can assure Mr. Foss that the manufacturers of Canada regard with the greatest interest the progress, the energy, the forwardness of manufacturing in that country; we watch closely every move they make; it is a great stimulus to us and I believe we are further advanced because we are near to them. They experiment and we join in trying to reap some part of the advantage. They create a market and are catering to people with like tastes to ourselves and we, Mr. Chairman, help to fill that market; and in other respects we have very much to thank them for. Again, as you know, many of their manufacturers are now moving across the Line, are becoming Canadian manufacturers and operating under the British flag.

We can only say that when they look to this country with the jealous eye of participating in the great advantages and great prosperity we look forward to, and is so quickly arriving to enjoy, we welcome them; we offer a fair field and no favour, but they must enter it by the employment of the people under our own flag and within our own boundaries. Now, Mr. Chairman, I think we are especially honoured in having Sir Edward Morris, the Minister of Justice from Newfoundland, and the Hon. Mr. Morine, the Leader of the Opposition, with us, and it is especially significant that they should be present this evening together. There may be something behind the scenes; if we hold our ear to the ground there may be some reason for their appearing in Toronto, the Imperial City of the Dominion, at this particular time. They surely realize and believe that we want Newfoundland. We believe they are Canadians the same as ourselves. We believe in due time they will be with us. There is really no difference between us. We do not wish to hurry that any faster than their own desires may help to bring it about. We know that there must be a preliminary education.

The Newfoundland people have been accustomed to look to Great Britain; their trade has been with Great Britain; they do not know very much of us up here; and I think it is very fortunate that their leading men should come away up into the centre of our country and observe what we are doing and listen to the addresses we have listened to this evening; and I feel sure they will go back to Newfoundland and they will tell their people of what they have heard and seen here. That must be helpful and will be greatly advantageous in bringing about those cordial relations, and the more intimate relations and the joining together, that we hope some day will take place. I have very much pleasure in supporting the vote of thanks.

THE PRESIDENT, LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES MASON.

Gentlemen,—

The address of the evening and the discussion that has followed have taken somewhat the character of a debate and if you were to desire me to give a decision on its merits I think I would take refuge in the answer made by a countryman of my own under the following circumstances. He and a friend of his were both in a British regiment, both Irishmen of course, full privates; one of them was an exceptionally well-behaved man, and rather better behaved than the other; and as is always the case in a British regiment they were on the lookout to promote worthy men, and this individual in the course of time was promoted to be a Sergeant. These two men had been chums all along, but when one of them got the stripes and the chevrones that indicated his rank he had, according to the regulations, to cease being a chum with his old friend; and the old friend naturally resented this uppishness, as he might have termed it, of his late comrade. He put up with it for some time, but one day almost boiled over and went up to his old friend and said: "Mike—Sergeant I mean—supposing a private went up to a sergeant and said to him, 'You have got the manners of a monkey,' what would happen to him?" "Well," said the Sergeant, "he would be put in the guard-house." "Well, suppose he didn't say it but meant it, what would happen to him?" "Nothing at all," says the Sergeant. "Well," he says, "we will leave it at that."

Now, as far as regards the decision of the chair, I will say as the Irishman said. But to come down to it, seriously, I think to-night may be looked upon as the red-letter event in the history of the Empire Club. I am very sorry for those who are not present; they have missed a treat. For that treat we are indebted to our friend, Mr. Foss, and I am sure that every member present will heartily join in the vote of thanks that has been so ably moved by Mr. Morine and seconded by Mr. Ellis. To the other gentlemen who favoured us with their eloquence and their instructive knowledge on this great question we are also indebted, and while no vote of thanks will be offered or tendered to them I am sure we all feel as grateful as we can or should be. You have heard now, gentlemen, the vote of thanks to the Honourable Mr. Foss. What is your pleasure?

The motion was carried amid loud applause and "God Save the King" was then sung.

Mr. Frederic Nicholls,
Vice-President and General Manager of the Ontario Electrical Development Co., Ltd.

NIAGARA'S POWER: PAST, PRESENT, PROSPECTIVE.

Address by Mr. Frederic Nicholls, Vice-President and General Manager, Electrical Development Company of Ontario, Limited, on January 19th, 1905.

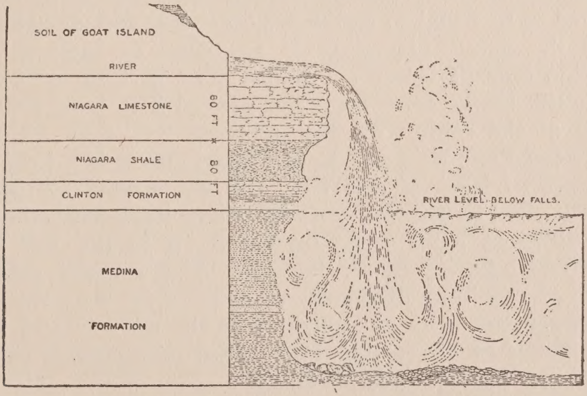
Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—

When, at the invitation of your President, Colonel Mason, I consented to prepare a short paper, dealing with the development of electrical power at Niagara Falls, I had little idea of the difficulty of the task. With so much material at hand, I knew I could easily fill in the allotted time of thirty minutes, but my troubles arose from the wealth of material with which I was confronted. When I commenced to jot down the various matters about which I thought my audience would like to hear, I found that instead of one-half hour, it would take very much longer to even touch upon the various matters of interest connected with the title of the paper. Condensation is much more difficult than elaboration, and I have necessarily to omit much, but trust that what I have chosen to place before you may awaken sufficient interest to induce you all to again visit Niagara Falls, and witness the stupendous engineering problems that have been already overcome, and those which are in process of being solved.

Many writers and poets have enriched our literature with romantic tales and thrilling narratives of the Niagara region, but time forbids me to dwell upon these, and, besides, I have undertaken to deal only with more prosaic matters. Should you desire to refresh your memories regarding the occupation of this historic district by the North American Indian, its discovery by Jesuit Fathers, its alternate conquest by France and England, each in turn aided and beset by various Indian tribes, such authors as Parkman, Fenimore Cooper, and others will treat you to fact or fancy to suit your inclinations.

Much, however, has been written by scientists in reference to the early geographical history of Niagara Falls. Mr. J. W. Spencer, F.G.S., in a paper read before a meeting of the American Association for the Advance-emnt of Science, in 1894, refers to many historical facts. Although the computed age of the Niagara River is 32,000 years, it was not until about 8,000 years ago that the waters of the Huron Basin were discharged by way of Niagara; their course having previously been along the Ottawa Valley, but owing to many geological upheavals and deformations, the water-shed of the Great Lakes has changed from time to time. Mr. Spencer, who has made a life-long study of this subject, concludes that at the present rate of terrestrial uplift of the rocky floor of the Niagara at the outlet of Lake Erie, the drainage of the Great Lakes will be diverted into the Mississippi, by way of Chicago, within the next five or six thousand years. An elevation of 60 feet at the outlet of Lake Erie, would bring the rocky floor of the channel as high as the bed of the river at the Chicago divide, and an elevation of 70 feet would divert the drainage, and history would repeat itself by again diverting the overflow of the Great Lakes into a new channel, with this difference, that, while the Ottawa Valley outlet of ancient times was entirely within what is now Canadian territory, and the present outlet is in international territory, with about 80 per cent. of the available water flowing over the Canadian Falls, the Mississippi outlet will be entirely within the boundaries of the present United States, but, as we are promised not less than 5,000 years within which to take advantage of conditions as we now find them, we can safely leave posterity to take care of this phase of the question.

A more imminent danger, perhaps, than the terrestrial uplift is the rate of recession of the Canadian Falls. Before the survey of 1842, the only data for estimating the rate of recession at the Niagara Gorge were observations of the people of the neighbourhood, and it has been variously estimated to have been from one foot to three feet per year. Modern investigators, basing their calculations on the surveys of 1842, 1875 and 1883, estimate the recession of the Canadian Fall at from three to five feet per year. The principal cause of this recession is from the fact that the cliff between the upper and lower rivers is not composed of solid rock, but is divided into five strata, which dip towards the south at the rate of about 25 feet to the mile. The upper stratum consists of compact Niagara limestone, about 80 feet in thickness. Underneath is comparatively soft Niagara shale, of about the same thickness. Numbers 3 and 5 are also strata of hard rock with a softer rock intervening, so that the matter of recession is very easily understood. The softer rocks more rapidly wear away, thus undermining the harder rocks above, leaving them to project over and finally to break off in huge fragments. The continuity of the under-lying soft strata insures the continuance of a projecting stratum at the top and a perpendicular plunge of the water when passing over it.



Prof Shaler's Sectional View of Niagara.

If we compute the possible recession at the maximum estimated rate of five feet per year, it will take several hundred years before the various power developments can be injuriously affected, and several thousand years before the outlet from Lake Erie will be reached. In 1896, my good friend, Mr. Thomas Commerford Martin, editor of *The Electrical World and Engineer,* read a paper before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, entitled "Utilization of Niagara"; and I quote some of my facts from his carefully prepared statistics. He states that at Niagara there is discharged, through two narrowing precipitous channels, only 3,800 feet wide and 160 feet high, the contents of 6,000 cubic miles of water, with a reservoir area of 90,000 square miles, draining 300,000 square miles of territory. The ordinary overspill of this Atlantic set on edge has been determined to be equal to about 275,000 cubic feet per second, and the quantity passing is estimated as high as one million tons of water per hour. The drifting of a ship over the Horse Shoe Falls has proved it to have a thickness at the centre of the crescent of over 16 feet. Between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario there is a total difference of level of 300 feet, and the amount of power represented by the water of the River has been estimated on different bases from 6,750,000 up to not less than 16,800,000 horse-power, the latter being a rough calculation of Sir Wm. Siemens, who, in 1877, was the first to suggest the use of electricity as the modern and feasible agent of converting into useful power some of this majestic, but squandered energy.

Having thus briefly referred to the early geological history of the River and Falls, coupled with such explanatory statistics as will enable my audience to better follow the description of the power developments which are referred to later, I will commence at once to deal with the material interests of modern times, although it is with regret that in so doing I have to delete much interesting matter dealing with other episodes of the Niagara River and district. You are all familiar with the efforts of the late Lord Dufferin, when Governor-General of Canada, to secure for a public park the lands immediately adjacent to the Horse Shoe Falls and Upper Rapids. As a direct result of Lord Dufferin's efforts, an Act was passed by the Ontario Legislature on the

5th of March, 1880, the preamble of which reads as follows:

> Whereas, it has been proposed that the Government of the Dominion of Canada and the State of New York should take steps to restore to some extent the scenery around the Falls of Niagara to its natural condition, and to preserve same from further deterioration, and also to afford to travellers and others facilities for observing the points of interest in the vicinity; and whereas it is desirable that any action the Government or Parliament of Canada may desire to take for the purpose of acquiring lands in the neighbourhood, with a view to the said object, should be handled in manner hereinafter appearing as relates to any matter within the authority of the Legislature of Ontario; therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, enacts as follows:

As will be noted, this Act of the Province of Ontario, passed in 1880, was for the purpose of permitting the Dominion Government, with the consent of the Ontario Government, to acquire the lands necessary for park purposes, as Sir Oliver Mowat, the then Premier of Ontario, who most heartily favoured the park projects, took the ground that the park should be a national one, and that it was the duty of the Dominion Government to take the necessary action for its foundation, but owing to the Dominion Government not having availed itself of the opportunity thus afforded, practically nothing was done during the next ensuing five years. The Ontario Government then took the matter vigorously in hand, and during the Session of 1885 passed another Act, the preamble of which reads as follows:

> Whereas, the Government of the Dominion of Canada has not availed itself of the provisions of the Act passed in the forty-third year of Her Majesty's reign, entitled An Act Respecting Niagara Falls and the Adjacent Territory, and as it is desirable that other means should be taken to restore, to some extent, the scenery around the Falls of Niagara to its natural condition, and to preserve the same from further deterioration, and to afford travellers and others facilities for observing the points of interest in the vicinity; therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislature of the Province of Ontario, enacts as follows:

This Act, in addition to enacting methods whereby the lands, privileges, etc., were to be acquired, provided for the appointment by the Government of three Honorary Commissioners, whose first duties were: "To report as to the plans which, in their opinion, should be adopted for securing the permanent preservation of the properties, and as to the way in which the same should be managed, and in the establishment of same as a public park, with such other matters as the Commissioners may think fit." The Commissioners first appointed were Sir Casimir Gzowski, J. W. Langmuir, and J. Grant Macdonald. The Commissioners lost no time in making their first Report, which is dated September 18th, 1885, or a few months only after the passing of the Act. This Report was followed closely by others, and, if time permitted, much of interest and value could be learned therefrom. Suffice it to say, that the Commissioners finally secured the various lands and privileges necessary, and on the 5th of March, 1887, they reported the completion of their labours in this regard, and advised the Government that $525,000.00 would be required to pay the sum awarded by the arbitrators for the purchase of the lands and privileges. During the Session of 1887 another Act was passed, increasing the number of the Board of Commissioners from 3 to 5, vesting the lands heretofore or hereafter to be acquired in the Commissioners, and giving authority for the acquiring of additional lands and privileges. From this time until 1899 the Commissioners were engaged in the work of reconstruction, and in beautifying the Park by removing unsightly structures, and by constructing roads, walks, bridges, etc., which would afford facilities to the public to view all the points of interest, many of which had been more or less inaccessible. No provision, however, had been made by the Government when creating the Commission, for the maintenance of the Park other than by allowing certain moderate tolls to be charged for passengers crossing the Dufferin Island bridges, etc., and in the Report of 1889 the following doleful paragraph appears:

"The Commissioners, after carefully considering the question are forced to admit that even with improved conditions the source from which the revenues are now drawn will prove inadequate to meet the annual cost of maintaining the Park, exclusive of the payment of interest and sinking fund on the debentures.

This brings me to that point in the history of the Canadian Falls where electricity first looms up as a factor in the situation. The Commission had cast about for ways and means whereby they could increase their revenue. One scheme was the establishment of a line of coaches to run at stated times between the Mowat and Dufferin gates; another, more wisely adopted, was for the construction on the brink of the river of an electrical railway between the Park and Queenston, and the Report goes on to say: "The privileges of constructing a railway along the brink of the river, in the opinion of the Commissioners, should be a very valuable asset for the purpose of increasing the annual revenue of the Park." Having secured the consent of the Government to award the franchise for the construction and operation of an electric railway, an option to secure such a franchise was given to a syndicate of English capitalists, which was ultimately forfeited by their inability to raise the necessary funds.

An agreement was then entered into, on the 4th December, 1891, which authorized a Canadian Company, represented by Messrs. E. B. Osler, Wm. Hendrie, H. C. Hammond, and R. B. Angus, to construct and operate a railway, thereafter known as the Niagara Falls Park and River Railway Co., paying therefor an annual rental of $10,000.00; and the income thus acquired not only assisted the Commissioners in making the revenue account more nearly equal to the expenditures, but was the first rental received from any electrical development at Niagara Falls.

I have pleasant memories of the construction of this line. The Canadian General Electric Company, which was then in its infancy, was awarded the contract for the manufacture of the electrical apparatus. This was our first large contract, as electrical contracts went in those days, and I remember standing by the 200 H.P. generator at the time this line was publicly opened, proud to know that it was the largest generator which up to that time had been manufactured in Canada; and nothing will more clearly exemplify the march of progress in electrical science than to refer to the fact that, while in 1902 a 200 H.P. generator was the largest that had been built in this country, we are now building a number of 15,000 H.P. generators, which are the largest in the world, and which will generate power to be derived from the same Niagara River at the power house of the Electrical Development Company.

The next step towards electrical development at the Park was, when, during the same year, the Commissioners gave an option to another body of English capitalists of the sole right of using for power purposes the waters of the Niagara River within the Park, at an annual rental of $25,000.00. This option was renewed by the Commissioners from time to time, upon the payment of an annual sum of $25,000.00, so that from this time forward the Commissioners were in receipt of an income of $10,000.00 from the Railway and $25,000.00 from the proposed Power Company, making in all a total of $35,000.00 per year on account of possibilities of electrical development, as against $4,000.00 per year from tolls, which had originally been expected to defray the cost of maintaining the Park. When all the concessions now granted are developed to their full capacity, the Commissioners will have an annual income of not less than $250,000.00 per year. Colonel Albert Shaw, who held the option for a monopoly of the power rights, being unable to interest the necessary English capital, associated with himself Mr. Wm. B. Rankin and others in the United States, and on the 4th of April, 1892, an Act of the Ontario Legislature was passed confirming the agreement made between the Commissioners and Colonel Shaw, Wm. B. Rankin, and others, who had organized as the Canadian Niagara Power Company.

Mr. Rankin has since associated with himself some of the wealthiest and brainiest men in the United States, and is at present Vice-President of the Canadian Niagara Power Company, operating, however, under different conditions of franchise from those first granted, and his Company is the first of the three large Power Companies on the Canadian side to commence active operations. I have mentioned that the Canadian Niagara Power Co. is operating under a different franchise from that first secured under the Act of 1892, and I must briefly dwell on this subject, as were it not for the surrender of their monopoly clause there would be a different story to tell. The first franchise was in all for a period of one hundred years, and the monopoly clause reads as follows:

> The Commission shall not grant or confer upon any other Company or person any right to take or use the waters of the Niagara River within the limits of the Park, so long as this agreement is in force, nor will the Commissioners themselves engage in making use of the waters to generate electrical or pneumatic power except for the purposes of the Park, saving always in so far as regards the exceptions contained in paragraph 12 of this agreement (*i.e.*, the electrical railway franchise already granted).

With this franchise went the obligation to have completed water connections for the development of 25,000 H.P., and have actually ready for use, supply and transmission 10,000 developed electrical H.P. by the first day of May, 1897; or over five years in which to construct. Without further comment, I may say that the Canadian Niagara Power Company, for some sufficient reason no doubt, failed to develop 10,000 H.P. within the time allowed by their franchise, and a new era commenced when the Commissioners were again authorized to lease to others such additional power sites as were available after the final location by the Canadian Niagara Power Company of the limits of their concession. In order to be as brief as possible in dealing with what I consider to be historic negotiations, I will skip from the year 1892, when the monopoly franchise was granted, until the year 1899. The Park Commissioners' Report of this year contains a full account of the negotiations which led to the abandonment by the Power Company of their monopoly. The Commissioners say that:

> As public sentiment appeared to favour the cancellation of the monopoly clauses in the Canadian Niagara Power Company's agreement, and the granting of equal rights to other Companies

desirous of using the water power of the Falls for commercial purposes, the Legislature at its last session passed an Act conferring upon the Commissioners authority to negotiate with the Canadian Niagara Power Company for the surrender and abandonment of the sole and exclusive right to use the waters of the Niagara River within the limits of the Park, granted by the agreement of April, 1892, upon such terms and conditions as might appear to be necessary in the public interest.

A new agreement with the Canadian Niagara Power Co. was negotiated and entered into without delay, and during the same year another agreement was entered into between the Commissioners and the Ontario Power Company, which was the second company to secure concession for utilizing the waters of Niagara on the Canadian side for the development of electrical power. No doubt the Commissioners congratulated themselves upon the fact that these new agreements largely augmented their income; but I doubt if at that time they were optimistic enough to believe that within three years yet another Company would apply for a franchise. Up to 1902 all of the privileges on the Canadian side were being operated by United States capital, and Canadians had no part in the development of their magnificent birthright. The Niagara Falls Park and River Railway had been promoted, constructed, and, for a short time, operated by a Canadian company, which finally sold out to the International Railway Company. The Canadian Niagara Power Company and the Ontario Power Company are both controlled by United States capital, and much credit is due to them for their foresight and enterprise in being the first to take advantage of this opportunity for the investment of capital.

In 1902, however, Mr. Wm. Mackenzie, Colonel H. M. Pellatt, and myself, made application for a site in the Park for the development of power on a large scale. Before this time the ability to transmit electrical energy for long distances at high voltages had not been commercially demonstrated, but as soon as it was known to be both feasible and successful, the question of generating power at Niagara Falls for transmission to Toronto became a live topic. After protracted negotiations between the Syndicate, the Ontario Government, and the Park Commissioners, a franchise was finally granted and an agreement entered into on the 29th day of January, 1903, and on the 18th day of February following, the Electrical Development Company of Ontario, Limited, was incorporated for the purpose of proceeding immediately with the development of their concession. The capital of this Company has been exclusively subscribed and paid for by Canadians, so that I am glad to be able to say that a more or less international reproach has been removed, and a Canadian Company will be in a position to engage in keen but, I hope, friendly rivalry with our enterprising neighbours who have spied out our land and shown their belief in its future by their deeds.

Having endeavoured to set forth chronologically the various undertakings and agreements precedent to the construction of their works by the three large Power Companies on the Canadian side, I will, before proceeding with the description thereof, refer as quickly as possible to their relation to the present and prospective flow of the river; because many people fear that when the power houses are in operation the flow of water will be so diminished as to appreciably interfere with the scenic beauties of the great cataract. I have previously mentioned that the total estimated horse power of the river passing over the Falls is from six to seven million, and a later authority, Mr. James Wilson, Park Superintendent, estimates that, after making liberal deductions, a total of 5,500,000 H.P. electrically can be safely assumed, 90 per cent. of which is at the Canadian or Horse Shoe Fall.

When all the Companies who are operating both on the Canadian and United States sides of the river have developed their concessions to their maximum output, which of course cannot be for some time to come, only about 78,000 cubic feet out of 223,000 cubic feet per second will be diverted, leaving 144,000 cubic feet plus 25,000 cubic feet (which is taken from the United States side), or a total of 169,000 cubic feet remaining on the

Canadian side to perpetuate the scenic effects of the Horse Shoe cataract. Whether this deduction in years to come, of about 23 per cent. of the water passing over the brink of the Falls will detract from their grandeur, can only be estimated, but as a mere spectacle I am inclined to think that a depth of water of, say, from 12 to 14 feet projecting into the abyss below will be as awe-inspiring as ever.

It frequently happens that a strong wind blowing from the north holds back the water in Lake Erie, thereby reducing the head of water at the Falls by not less than two feet, and yet none but close observers can distinguish the difference. In fact, the cogent argument has been advanced by Dr. Martin, that a reduction of the quantity of water will actually help to conserve the scene as it exists to-day, for the terrific weight and rush of waters over the Horse Shoe Fall is eating it away and breaking its cliff into a series of receding slopes and rapids, so that even a slight diminution of the whelming mass of wave will to that extent lessen its disruption and decay.

If, as all hope, and most of us believe, we can, without diminishing the scenic effects, turn to good use this mighty power which Edison has termed "the greatest storage battery on earth," and which for countless ages has simply been running to waste, so far as its economical use is concerned, surely something will have been accomplished for the good of mankind. In every part of Ontario to-day coal is being used in the mills, the factories, and the homes. This coal, which has been mined in a foreign country, is toil-won from the bowels of the earth, and after passing through many grimy processes is laden on cars or vessels before finally reaching its destination. If we can secure our power and heat in a more acceptable form, without the grime and noxious fumes incidental to the use of coal, I say that something has been accomplished for the general good, and it is now my privilege to point out, not only how this is being done on a large scale, but how this more acceptable, but invisible and mystic power, which men call electricity, will be transmitted along slender copper wires to great distances, and having silently entered our mills, factories and power houses, over still more slender wires, will, like the genii out of the bottle, expand into a force that is terrifying when uncontrolled.

It is the vocation of the modern engineer, however, to devise methods and machinery whereby this mighty force is absolutely under human control, led hither and thither at will, and divided and sub-divided as circumstances dictate. It is used for the propelling of mighty locomotives that can draw heavier trains, at a greater speed, than any steam locomotive ever built. It can drive the heaviest machinery in mill or factory, or from the same wires can propel the tiniest electric fan. It can, when used through the medium of the searchlight, project illumination through miles of space, and thus defend the fortress or the battleship from attack or disaster, and when held in bondage by a storage battery, may be used, as the reserves of a great army are used, only in times of stress or of critical emergency. It is used as an implement of the wrath of man, when in the interests of justice the murderer atones for his crime in the electric chair of death, and again, and in sharp contrast, man, when in nobler mood, uses its subtle healing and health-giving properties to alleviate pain and prolong life.

I have said this much in defence of those of us who, while as anxious as any to see the beauties of nature undefiled, believe that much good can be accomplished by utilizing Niagara's power, without doing violence to the æsthetic tastes of the antiquarian, the artist, or even a Cook's tourist. The Park Commissioners, in their own wisdom, but at the expense of the Power Companies, have been rigidly insistent upon the various works of construction being so planned that when completed they will not only not detract from the physical beauty of their surroundings, but add thereto those monuments of engineering skill and modern achievement which I am about to describe, and which has been made possible only by the optimism of capital; and it is cause for congratulation that most of the possibilities of power development at Niagara are on the Canadian side, for although two of the three Companies are controlled by United States capital, each of the agreements contains a clause providing that not less than 50 per cent. of the power they may develop shall be held for use in Canada in the event of a demand arising therefor.

I estimate that the completed cost of the three great works now under construction will be from fifteen to twenty million dollars; and as the major portion of this vast sum is being expended in Canada for labour, materials, and machinery, and as at least one-half of the total output accruing from this expenditure is conserved for Canadian use, I submit that the Government and the Commissioners, while encouraging investment, have made excellent bargains with the Power Companies. The first to commence construction was the Canadian Niagara Power Company, they being quickly followed by the Ontario Power Company, and later by the Electrical Development Company : and I will refer to the special features of each plant in this order.

THE CANADIAN NIAGARA POWER COMPANY.

The cofferdam of this Company consists of an inner and an outer cribwork, with a puddle space between; the outer cribwork is ten feet wide, the inner eight feet, and the puddle space eight feet. The average depth of water is about sixteen feet. After the cofferdam was constructed, so much water leaked through the boulders between the puddle and solid rock that it was found unreasonably expensive to do the necessary pumping, so the inside of the cofferdam was covered with two layers of tongued and grooved sheathing breaking-joints, and between which was placed a layer of tarred paper, all well spiked to the timbers. The works being constructed are designed for a capacity of 110,000 horse-power. The general design is similar to that of Power House No. 2 of the Niagara Falls Power Company now in operation on the United States side of the river.

The tunnel tailrace, which leads the water to the lower river after it has left the turbines, is 2,200 feet long and of a horse-shoe form, 25 feet high and 19 feet wide, being lined with 17 inches of concrete with vitrified brick facing, except for 100 feet at river end where the tunnel drops by an ogee curve into the river. The grade of this tunnel is seven feet per thousand, which will give a speed of water, when the plant is in full operation, of 27 feet per second. The rock through which the tunnel was excavated is limestone and black shale. The former provided a good roof, but where shale was encountered timber arches resting on wall plates and plumb posts were put in to retain roof. The excavation of the tunnel was completed before the permanent lining was begun. The head canal, built entirely of massive limestone masonry, has a clear waterway 15 feet deep and 250 feet wide, and is crossed by a five-span stone arch bridge which carries the tracks of the Niagara Falls Park and River Railway, a carriage way, and a sidewalk. The canal widens into a forebay 600 feet wide, extending the whole length of the Power House.

Protection from ice is afforded by an outer ice rack along the river face; a line of submerged arches forming outer wall of forebay room; a fine ice rack extending the whole length of Power House inside the forebay room and immediately outside the penstock mouthpieces, and by an overflow weir which can be used in combination with floating booms to draw floating materials back into the river again by means of a sluiceway channel. The wheelpit is 165 feet deep, 18 feet wide inside of brick lining, and 570 feet long. The sides were channelled in six-foot cuts. Five chambers for auxiliary machinery were excavated in east side of the wheelpit as the work progressed. The wheelpit is lined with hard burned brick. The course next the rock is composed of hollow brick, and ample weepers emptying into the tail water are provided.

The turbines, each of a capacity of 12,500 horsepower, were designed by Messrs. Escher, Wyss & Company, of Zurich, Switzerland, and are of the twin Francis vertical type, inward discharge, two draft tubes to each unit discharging into the open tailrace below. Three of these units were manufactured and are being installed by this firm, and two units on the same design are about to be installed by I. P. Morris Company, Philadelphia, Pa. One of the most distinctive features of this plant is the size of the generating units, each of which is to have a capacity of 10,000 horse-power. The plant when completed will contain eleven of these generators. The generators with vertical shafts are of internal revolving field type, and are wound for three-phase current, 11,000 volts, 25 cycles at 250 revolutions per minute. This high generating voltage was selected not for long distance transmission, but for economy in local distribution of power. The cost of distributing at 11,000 volts, three-phase, is about one-fifth that required for a 2,200 volt, two-phase system. For long distance transmission step-up transformers will be used to raise the voltage of 22,000, 40,000 or 60,000 volts, depending upon the distance of transmission.

It is the intention to have cable connections so that this Power House can operate, if desired, in parallel with either or both of the United States plants of the Niagara Falls Power Company. The cables will be carried across the Niagara River by way of the Upper Steel Arch Bridge, a total distance of about three and one-half miles. The 11,000 volts, three-phase, will be changed to 2,200 volts, two-phase, for paralleling, by means of step-down transformers, or delivered direct to tenants on the lands of the Niagara Falls Power Company. The auxiliary machinery, consisting of exciter turbines, exciters, water pumps, oil pumps, oil tanks, etc., are located in the chambers built into the side of the wheelpit, 100 feet beneath the surface. This machinery will all be operated by an independent water service drawn from the canal above. The present Power House building, for five units, is constructed of Queenston limestone, roofed with tile, and has installed two 50-ton electric cranes for service in installation of machinery. It is lined inside with mottled buff brick, enamel brick and marble.

Underground conduits from Power House to Upper Arch Bridge have a capacity of 75,000 horse-power, and from Power House to a Transformer Station situated south and outside of Queen Victoria Park, a capacity of 50,000 horse-power. A Transformer House, equipped with water-cooled transformers, has been constructed of a present capacity of 25,000 horse-power. It will be supplied with water for cooling purposes from pumps located in chambers of wheelpit. There is also a stand-pipe, 116 feet high by 30 feet in diameter, carrying one day's supply of water, to be drawn upon in case of any accident to this pumping system. Every effort has been made in the construction of these works to build for the future. Stone, brick and cast-iron have been chiefly relied on, and, where used, steel work has been designed so as to be accessible for inspection, removal and painting. The Power House and Transformer Station are practically fire-proof, the roof tiles being laid directly on the steel roof angles. In the design, all the experience gained in the construction and operation of the plants of the Niagara Falls Power Company has been made use of, and it is believed that the works herein described represent the best hydraulic, mechanical and electrical knowledge available to date.

THE ONTARIO POWER COMPANY.

The plan of development followed by this Company is essentially different from either of the two other Companies. Instead of taking the water from the river at the Power House, conducting it through penstocks to the turbines in the wheel-pit below and discharging it into the lower river by means of a tunnel, they gather the water required at their headworks at the upper end of the Park, conduct it through a steel pipe of over 6,000 feet in length to a point in the cliff below the Falls, thence by penstocks in tunnels through the cliff to the Power House in the Gorge. I understand it is the intention of the Company to ultimately utilize three of these steel pipes, each having a capacity of 60,000 horse-power, but at the present time one only has been constructed. The general details of this plant are outlined in the following description:

The headworks consist of an intake proper, an outer forebay, screens, an inner forebay and control gates. The intake, 618 feet long, consists of concrete piers, supporting a continuous, reinforced, concrete curtain wall. More than double the quantity of water to be utilized at the water wheels is intercepted by the up-stream face of the intake, and much is there deflected to form a cross current which will carry away ice. This is brought about by a curtain wall construction and the placing of the structure at an obtuse angle to the natural direction of the current in the river. The outer forebay, which contains an area of eight acres, is bounded by an artificial island and the original river bank on the one side, and by a long concrete gathering wall on the other. A supply of water is provided for the restoration of the Dufferin Island Channel, which is controlled by sluices on either side of the island mentioned.

Except during extremely low stages of water in the River, the outer wall of the forebay will be constantly submerged, water spilling freely over it into the River, as over a weir, carrying floating ice and debris with it. A section of this wall, 100 feet in length, adjacent to the screen house, is constructed with the top depressed below the crest of the main portion. When water at the intake is at extreme low level, there is thus an additional discharge area of approximately 300 square feet cross section over the depressed section. The screens are in the form of a steel grillage, set on inclined guides in concrete masonry, and are removable by means of a crane. The apparatus is covered by an artistic stone building, the roof of which forms a broad promenade, commanding an exceptionally fine view of the rapids.

The inner forebay, with an area of two acres, extends from the screen house to the gate house. The landward wall and the river wall are formed partly by the rock face after excavation had been made in the river bed, and partly of concrete. On the land side, excavated material has been dumped and graded to bring the general surface of the islands in this vicinity up to the same level as the top of the concrete wall. The original Dufferin Islands have been increased in area, and several entirely new islands of considerable size have been made from the excavated rock, approximately 150,000 cubic yards, taken from the bed of the river in deepening the two forebays. The quantity of water that will be drawn into the inner forebay when the entire capacity of the plant is being generated has been calculated to be in the neighbourhood of 12,000 cubic feet per second. The depth of water in the headworks under normal conditions of River gradually increases from 13 feet at the intake to 30 feet at the gate house. The velocity of flow is about three feet per second at the intake; it is swiftest (4·7 feet per second) through the centre portion of the outer forebay, and it drops to two feet at the screens, then gradually increases to 3·4 feet per second at the gate house.

The gates at the entrance to the conduits are three in number, one for each of the main conduits. They are of the Stoney pattern, of square form, full size of their respective conduits, and counterbalanced to run between roller guides. A substantial and artistic building covers the gates, and an equipment of boilers and steam pipes provides against freezing. Starting from the gate house, the main conduits, three in number, follow the river bank through the Park to the top of the cliff opposite Goat Island. The distance to the nearest penstock is 6,180 feet, in which length the fall in grade is 28 feet. The first of the three conduits which is now nearing completion, is 18 feet in interior diameter. When flowing at full capacity it will pass about 3,900 cubic feet of water per second. From the underside of the first main conduit, six penstocks, each nine feet in diameter, drop in pairs through vertical shafts and out through horizontal tunnels in the solid rock of the cliff to the Power House. Each penstock supplies water for a 10,000 horse-power unit.

The building is 76 feet wide and 65 feet high, and for the full capacity will be about 1,000 feet in length. The roof is flat, and the general style of architecture is massive and somewhat after the Egyptian order. The main generators and their turbines, directly connected, are the only machines placed on the floor of the station. On a raised gallery, 11 feet above the main floor, and extending along the rear wall of the station, are located the exciter turbines, the direct connected exciting dynamos, and the governors that regulate the speed of the turbines. At a distance of 550 feet back from the generating station, and on the bluff, at an elevation of 250 feet above it, is situated the control, transforming and distributing station. This distant control removes from the generating station the possible dangers incident to the operation of high voltage switches for generators, as well as for transformers, and also concentrates the management of both in a single operating room. The distributing station building is of imposing appearance, as it occupies a prominent position on the bluff overlooking the Park and Horse Shoe Falls. A wing to accommodate the offices of the Company extends forward in the centre.

THE ELECTRICAL DEVELOPMENT COMPANY OF ONTARIO, LIMITED.

The foregoing particulars regarding the operations of the Canadian Niagara Power Company and the Ontario Power Company respectively have been taken from various reports published from time to time, with their authority, but in view of my personal identification with the operations of the Electrical Development Company, I am able to describe this enterprise with somewhat greater elaboration of the special engineering features in connection therewith.

On January 29th, 1903, an agreement was entered into between the Commissioners and Messrs. Wm. Mackenzie, H. M. Pellatt and Frederic Nicholls, granting rights to take water from the Niagara River at Tempest Point, for the purpose of generating electricity to the extent of 125,000 electrical horse-power. On the 18th

February, 1903, The Electrical Development Company of Ontario, Limited, was incorporated by Letters Patent under the authority of the Legislature of Ontario, with a Capital Stock of $6,000,000.00. At a meeting of the shareholders held on the 21st March, 1903, the agreement made between Messrs. Mackenzie, Pellatt and Nicholls and the Commissioners, was acquired by the Company, and the following Directors were elected: Messrs. Wm. Mackenzie, H. M. Pellatt, Frederic Nicholls, Hon. Geo. A. Cox and James Ross. Subsequently Colonel Pellatt was elected President, Frederic Nicholls, Vice-President and General Manager, and Wm. Mackenzie, 2nd Vice-President. At the same meeting Mr. H. G. Nicholls was appointed Secretary, and Mr. D. H. McDougall, Treasurer; Mr. F. S. Pearson, D. Sc., was appointed Chief Consulting Engineer, Mr. Hugh L. Cooper, Chief Hydraulic Engineer, Mr. Beverley Value, Chief Engineer of Construction at the Works, and Mr. H. H. Macrae, Solicitor.

Since that date no time has been lost in expediting operations in order that the enterprise may become income-producing at the earliest possible period. The first and most important part of the work was the final location of the site by the Company's Chief Hydraulic Engineer, and the preparation of the necessary plans to enable construction to be proceeded with, and it is but just to say that never was engineering skill of a higher order shown, as the practical completion of the hydraulic construction has proved the preliminary studies to have been both correct and admirably designed. Our development radically differs in many ways from any of the others on either side of the river. A novel feature is that all the works of the Company are practically constructed on what was previously the river bed—that is to say, that no encroachment has been made on Park territory, but the room required has been wrested from the most turbulent part of the upper rapids at Tempest Point. To accomplish this it was a necessary preliminary to construction to unwater about twelve acres of the river, and the doing of this called for much engineering skill. The contractor having failed, however, to make the dam watertight, our engineering staff subsequently executed an inner dam which secured the desired result.

With the forebay unwatered, work was begun on the headworks. A concrete gathering dam, with granite coping, extended up stream from the lower end of the wheel-pit at an angle of thirty degrees, conducts the water to the gates, increasing the available head and stilling the water. This dam is designed to act as a spill-way for its entire length, thus enabling the surface ice to escape before reaching the submerged arches mentioned later. This action is still further increased by having the top of the last sixty feet—at the down stream end—three feet lower than the rest of the dam. The heavy ice will be that brought down from the upper lakes in the early spring. It is not expected to be large in amount, as most of it passes down the river near the centre of its flow. However, ample provision is being made to handle whatever amount may possibly come. The water before reaching the penstocks will have to pass through two rows of submerged masonry arches, separated by a quiet bay equipped with a spill-way at its lower end for passing off such ice as may be in it. Between the second row of arches and the gates lies a second bay equipped with a small spill-way at the end, and with a set of metal gratings in front of each gate. This last bay comes beneath the limits of the Power House or generating station, and will consequently be covered.

Nor was the work preliminary to the excavation of the main tail-race tunnel less devoid of excitement and risk, which at one time amounted to heroism. The main tunnel, which is the largest tunnel in the world, is about 2,000 feet in length by about 33 feet in diameter in the rough, that is to say, before it is lined with cement, concrete and hard burned brick, which will reduce its area to 26 by 23½ feet. It is constructed 158 feet below the bed of the river, commencing at the end of the wheelpit, and discharging behind the falling waters of the Horse

Shoe Fall about 700 feet from the shore. In order to reach this outlet, a shaft was sunk at the brink of the Falls to a depth of 150 feet, and a construction tunnel 14 by 7 feet was driven to the point 700 feet distant, where excavation of the main tunnel would be commenced. When about half of the distance had been driven it was decided by Contractor Douglass to excavate an opening for the construction tunnel to the chamber between the face of the cliff and the falling water, for the purpose of dumping the *debris* into the river and save hoisting it up the shaft.

The first hole was made near the ceiling of the drift, and immediately dense clouds of spray rushed in through the opening, and water, intercepted by the talus, began to rise in the floor of the tunnel. Powerful pumps were set to work to keep the water down, but the task was beyond them, and the water steadily rose until only a small space remained between it and the roof. If the rock at the mouth of the opening—which acted as a dam—could be removed, the water would immediately run out, but how to remove it was a puzzle. The emergency developed volunteers, and three were selected for a most dangerous service. A flat-bottomed boat was lowered down the shaft to the end of the flooded tunnel. It rode so high that it would not clear the roof, and ballast was put in to make it ride lower. The three men, with several boxes of dynamite and a lot of copper wire, then started on their voyage by lying down on their backs and propelling the boat by pushing with hands and feet against the ragged roof. When they reached the opening several hundred feet away, they placed the dynamite, connected the wires, and started on the return journey, the boat sinking under them just as they reached the shaft. The dynamite was exploded, but failed to entirely remove the obstruction, when another and equally daring method was tried.

Our Chief Engineer and two men, roped together like Alpine guides, started for the opening along the face of the cliff behind the Falls. At all times the spray was blinding in its intensity, and gusts of wind or compressed air would almost beat them to the ground, but they persevered until success crowned their efforts, and they stood in front of the opening, having ventured such a distance behind the Falls as had never previously been accomplished. Here the difficulty was diagnosed, and subsequent trips were taken to place a huge quantity of dynamite where it would do the most good, and on one Saturday at near midnight the charge was electrically exploded. Supreme effort met its just reward. I am glad to say the obstruction was removed, and the water ran out of the tunnel, and ever since then there has been no setback of any kind, and the enormous tunnel, which has now been driven its entire length, is as dry and pleasant as this room.

Apart from its being the largest tunnel ever constructed, there are several novel engineering features connected with it. Instead of commencing directly under the wheelpit, it starts with two branches, one on either side of the wheelpit. These join at a point 165 feet beyond the end of the wheelpit, forming a section 26 feet high and 23½ feet wide, of a horse-shoe form, the object of the water wheels discharging alternately into a branch tunnel on either side instead of into one main tunnel beneath, being to enable one half of the Power House to be shut down at any time for examination or repairs, a feature unique with this installation. It is estimated that with the complete plant in operation the velocity of the discharged water will be 26 feet per second, and the quantity about 12,000 feet per second.

Over the wheelpit will be the Generating Station or Power House. Its style of architecture on the outside will be Italian Renaissance, and its classical lines are a tribute to the skill of the Architect, Mr. E. J. Lennox. As previously mentioned, it is on the bank of the river at a somewhat higher elevation than the main Park drive-way, and to overcome the difference in elevation, broad terraces, enhanced here and there with parapets and wide flights of steps, will be constructed, adding materially to the æsthetic appearance of the landscape at this point. A wide colonnade, supported by massive stone columns, graces the entire front of the structure, and from this colonnade visitors will be able to view, through large plate glass windows, the complete operation of the massive machinery within the building. For the purpose of providing manufacturing sites for industries which may desire to locate near Niagara Falls in order to use the power of this Company, some 530 acres of land have been purchased fronting on the Chippewa River, about two miles from Niagara Falls and only three and a half miles from the point where the Chippewa River has entrance to the Welland Canal. These lands have a river frontage of one and one-half miles and will have excellent water and railroad communication.

The power generated will be delivered by underground cables to the step-up terminal station of the Toronto & Niagara Power Company, which has been organized to distribute the output of the Electrical Development Company's Power House. This terminal station is located on the top of the Niagara Embankment above the Park, about 1,500 feet from the Power House. It will be about 200 feet long by 65 feet wide. The current will be delivered at about 12,000 volts, where it will be raised by the step-up transformers to 60,000 volts for transmission to a similar transformer station building at Toronto, where it will be reduced by step-down transformers to the commercial voltage required. Although the first transmission line is being built to reach Toronto, the Company having secured contracts for a large block of power from the Toronto Electric Light Co. and the Toronto Railway Co., it is intended to later on construct transmission lines to such other points in Ontario, within a distance of, say, 150 miles from the Generating Station, where a market can be found that will warrant the cost of constructing transmission lines. The Niagara-Toronto line is being built within a private right of way, and steel towers are used instead of wooden poles for supporting the copper cables. Mr. W. T. Jennings, M.I.C.E., was appointed Chief Engineer in charge of the locating survey, which has been conducted with ability by himself and his staff of assisting engineers.

The route having been located, the purchase of the right of way from hundreds of owners was commenced, and through the untiring efforts of the Company's Solicitor, Mr. Macrae, and his assistants, this difficult task has been satisfactorily completed.

This ends a very brief description of the several works in course of construction, but before concluding I will, even more briefly, refer to the strides that have been made in electrical science during the last few years. Seventeen years ago a Convention of Street Railway-men, meeting in the United States, refused to listen to one of its members who advocated the merits of electric traction, and instead devoted their time to questions connected with the feeding and stabling of horses and mules. To-day there is scarcely a horse-car remaining in service on this Continent. During the earlier years of electric traction, when horse-car companies were being rapidly converted by the logic of events, the trolley cars of the period were about the same size as the horse-cars they replaced, and had as motive power one or two 15 H.P. motors. To-day in urban service, large cars, using powerful motors are in daily use, and for inter-urban service cars weighing 48 tons with a 600 H.P. equipment are in use between many cities in the United States. Although we have not yet progressed to that extent in Canada, at least one project is under way for instituting an electric trunk line service that will be modern in every respect.

As the horse-car men of old (I say of old, for seventeen years' retrospect in electrical matters is ancient history) belittled the possibilities of electric traction on the streets and highways, so until a very recent period have the steam railway magnates looked askance at the question of operating their lines by electric power. But history is being made rapidly, and a new epoch was begun when the New York Central R. R. placed an order for fifty electric locomotives, capable of handling the heaviest trains, for use between New York and cities within a radius of 24 miles, in order to abolish the disadvantages of steam traction within New York City and suburbs. The first of these locomotives has been built and tested, and in the trials proved superior in speed and tractive force to the best New York Central locomotive. To drive these locomotives an immense steam Power House is being erected, and with vast quantities of power developed at Niagara one cannot be accused of undue optimism when anticipating great future developments of electric traction adapted to steam railroads. I could descant at much greater length upon all the varied improvements that have recently taken place, and the prospects for future applications of electric current in electro-chemical industries and various branches of arts and science, but such would be sufficient to form the topic for a paper by themselves, and I have already trespassed on your indulgence, and will at once conclude.

To "harness Niagara," which had been long a dream, is now an actuality, as I have shown. The possibilities of future invention and discovery in the field of electric science are limited only by the imagination. A single generation has seen the commercial development of electric light, electric railways, the telephone, the phonograph, and wireless telegraphy, any one of which, if even hinted at in what we are pleased to call the "good old days," would have been sufficient grounds for burning at the stake for witchcraft. In the face of such modern miracles can we conclude that we have reached the limit of advancement? I think not, and venture to prophesy that in the future will be celebrated greater marvels than in the past, and if it should fall to the lot of any of us to be present at such a celebration I can express no better wish than that we may at that time be surrounded by such a goodly company as are gathered here to-day.

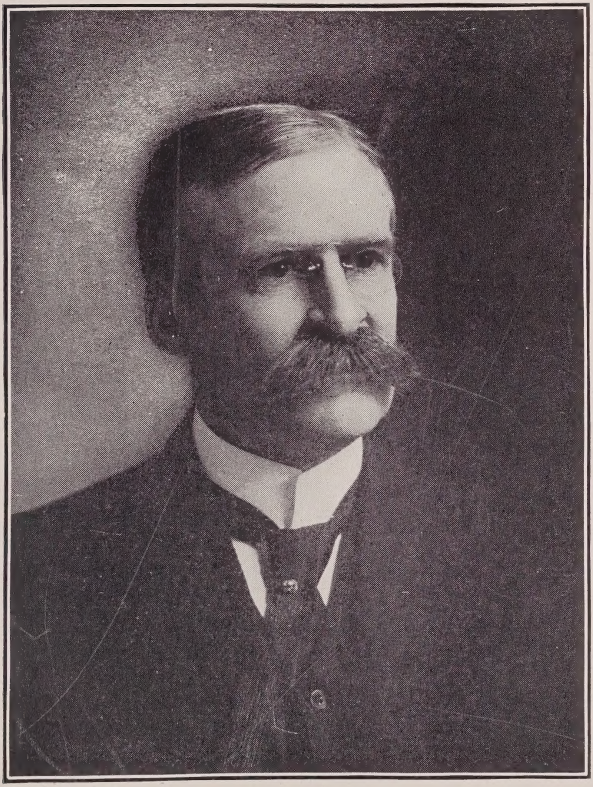
THE FUTURE OF CANADIAN FORESTS.

Address by Mr. Thomas Southworth, Director of Colonization and Forestry for Ontario, on Thursday, January 26th, 1905.

Gentlemen,—

While I fully appreciate the honour of being asked to contribute to the entertainment of the Empire Club, I do not flatter myself that the honour is due to the expectation that I would be apt to offer any very valuable contribution to your knowledge of the great problem of Empire-building or cementing, to which many of those present have devoted much time and thought. The aggregation we call the Empire is made up of state units, among which the Province of which I am proud to be a native is not unimportant, and it is possible that a few minutes' talk about the extent and resources of this particular member of the sisterhood of states comprising the Empire, together with some references to what has been and is being done to develop those resources may be of interest, as showing that we are building up the Empire though we may concentrate our efforts to a great extent upon only one particular part of it.

Ontario, as a chunk of territory, or as a business proposition, is a pretty large concern. The statement that the Province contains 126 million acres of land does not convey any very intelligent conception of its size, but a better idea may be had by way of comparison. Ontario is larger than Great Britain and Ireland by 78,000 square miles; it is larger than the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio combined; it is only 4,000 square miles less than France, and 8,000 square miles less than the German Empire. Not alone in mere superficial area is Ontario vast, but as a business proposition it is a very extensive concern, doing business in a large way. In fact it is one of the biggest business corporations I know of. Its shareholders are the people of the Province, and



MR. THOMAS SOUTHWORTH,
Ontario Director of Forestry and Colonization.

the business carried on is extensive and varied. Very slight calls of stock have ever been made upon the shareholders, while the dividends are never passed, and have so far been paid annually in the shape of Provincial expenditures on roads, education, asylums, hospitals and for other purposes—expenditures that otherwise would have had to be borne by the shareholders from their earnings. The assets or capital of the corporation, aside from the power of taxation possessed by the Directors, or Government, consists for the most part of land, water-powers, minerals, lakes, rivers and forests with their inhabitants.

Some of these items of capital are worked for direct cash dividends, others for the indirect benefits to the shareholders that come from the mere working of the capital. This is largely the case with the land and the mines. So far no serious attempt has been made to secure cash dividends from them, and I do not propose to discuss the wisdom or otherwise of this policy at this time. Although in the case of the land the settler, who goes into one of our new districts and takes up 160 acres of land to make a comfortable home for those who may follow him, is entitled to all he can get out of it, and I do not think that the rest of the Province, or the shareholders of this Province, ought to expect to make much cash profit from that particular land. Just what could be realized in the way of cash dividends from mines is difficult even to guess. While much money has been put into the ground, in some places never to come out, in others the process has been reversed. An instance of the latter is afforded in the recent discovery along the new Provincial Railway, where 160 acres of mineral land for which the Province received $560, was sold in a few weeks to New York parties for $250,000, and it is reported that similar offers have been refused for other properties in the same vicinity.

Until quite recently our immense wealth in water-power was treated in the same way. The right to use the power was sold in perpetuity to individuals for a merely nominal sum; usually included free in the sale of the land around it. The idea was that the development of the power would be of such advantage to the community in the consequent investment of capital and employment of labour as well as cheap power, as to produce sufficient indirect dividends. Unfortunately, however, it was found in practice that the expected results did not always follow. The fortunate holders of these powers in many cases not only failed to develop the power themselves, but prevented others from doing so except on payment to them of exorbitant sums for what had cost them nothing. In 1898 the evil of this policy was seen and all water-powers of 150 horse-power and over are now only leased by the Crown, subject to development, and the fixing of rates that may be charged to other users by the Directors of the Corporation—the Governor-in-Council. Still, except in the case of Niagara Falls, the policy is one of forcing development and use rather than of revenue.

In fact the one part of the Provincial assets that has been worked for cash dividends is the forest, and in this connection let me say that the policy of exploiting our timber lands in Ontario has differed from that in the rest of the continent; and now that the elections are over, I think I may add that our policy, while not perfect by any means, has been better than others. For many years—say 32—we have been receiving considerable revenue from this source, that of 1904 amounting to $2,648,000. For many years past we have been threatened with a cessation or, at least, a material falling off in this revenue. It is popularly supposed that fire and the lumberman's axe are causing our pine forests to disappear so rapidly that in a few years at best we would have to call on our shareholders to make up for this annual revenue. The dreaded day has not arrived, and I am convinced that under any kind of proper management it is not likely to, not for many years, or forever.

Our present timber system is the product of evolution, a gradual development. First when the Royal dockyard contractors alone were allowed to cut timber for sale; followed by absolute free trade in timber when any one who chose might select a territory and remove the timber from it free of dues; until the beginning of our present system which provided for the removal of the more valuable timber for public revenue before handing over the land on which it grew to the individual settler. Under that system a considerable portion of the settled part of Ontario has been developed, and is now the home of prosperous farming communities. The operations of the lumbermen in furnishing markets for the labour and supplies of the pioneer settlers made an excellent arrangement for settling up the country. Many communities in older Ontario have been settled in this way and, theoretically, no better plan could probably be devised. While affording the settlers, most of whom were poor, an excellent opportunity for establishing themselves in the districts surrounding actual lumbering operations, the pine timber was sold by auction to the highest bidder and produced a large amount of revenue each year for public purposes.

Eventually, however, it became apparent that the system was weak in some particulars. As settlement extended north towards the Laurentian back-bone of the Province, it was found that there were considerable areas of land not well suited for agricultural settlement, land that would have been of greater profit to the people as a whole if left to grow successive crops of timber than if divided up among the individual settlers who might perhaps find their undertaking profitable for a few years while the timber was being removed only to realize when too late that their time had been wasted, and that the farms they had been at pains to clear could not be made to support them. The timber licenses, as you probably know, by which certain parties secure the right to cut pine on given areas, are issued for one year only. However, under our system of disposing of timber by which the berth or limit is put up at public competition, the purchaser or licensee pays a certain sum in advance at the time of sale, paying regular dues on the timber as it is cut, the dues amounting in different cases from $1 to $2 per thousand feet. This $2 per thousand stumpage nowadays represents only a part of the value of the timber on the stump; the remaining value is supposed to be included in the sum paid in cash at the time of sale. It is unreasonable to expect a man to remove all the valuable timber off a lot in one year, hence the practice arose of renewing the license to the same party from year to year until the timber for which he was supposed to have paid was removed, or until the land was required for settlement and sub-divided for that purpose.

As previously stated, a good deal of this land was found to be quite unsuited for settlement. In these cases the license is renewed from year to year until the holders seem to have a vested interest in it, and although the original timber which was taken into account at the time of the sale may have been removed, the lumbermen expect a renewal of their licenses, and are in some cases now cutting timber that was not considered at all at the time of the sale. In 1896 I had the honour to recommend to the Government the advisability of separating non-agricultural from agricultural land and placing the rough land in reserves to be permanently withdrawn from settlement and kept for the purpose of growing timber. It was also pointed out at the time the difficulty that had arisen in the matter of these old licenses. In the subsequent sales of limits that have taken place the absence of a definite limit to the terms for which licenses should be renewed was removed by definitely fixing a period during which the licensees had to remove the timber. In the first sale after that, the period was fixed at ten years, but in the sale of 1903 the term was extended to fifteen years, after which the licensee ceased to have any claim on the territory, and any timber cut upon it subsequently will bring a larger revenue to the Crown than the amount realized through the payment of the regular dues as the timber is cut.

The recommendation as to forest reserves was subsequently endorsed by the Royal Commission on Forestry, and in 1898 the Legislature passed an Act authorizing the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to set aside, from time to time, for the purpose of growing timber in perpetuity, areas of non-agricultural land. The first Reserve created under this Act consisted of an old limit of small extent that had been under license for many years, but that had been burned and cut over, although at the time supporting a vigorous growth of young timber. Subsequently other Reserves were created, mostly of territory that had not been operated for timber, until we now have under reserve land approximating seven million acres, containing pine timber alone worth probably $75,000,000 at the present value of the stumpage, in addition to the spruce, cedar, birch and other timbers which are now of considerable value. These Reserves are for the most part in the Laurentian ridge above referred to, and I presume that the system of Forest Reserves will be extended to take in all the territory unsuited for agriculture on which there is at present no other claim.

Assuming that this policy is continued, I calculate that the Forest Reserves of the Province will ultimately include at least 40,000,000 acres. If an arrangement is ultimately come to between the Government and the lumbermen by which some new arrangement can be made giving the Province a greater proportion of the value of the stumpage than it now obtains under the stumpage dues, this area may be considerably increased. When this is done Ontario will have a permanent Crown Forest in excess of that of any other state of its size anywhere; and moreover, this forest estate will be of such geographical size as to provide not only the greatest source of revenue to the Province, but at the same time afford all the indirect advantages that come to a community from the presence of trees in masses, and they are many.

Stretching from Lake Temiskaming on the east of the northern part of the Province, west to the Manitoba boundary, this territory would include the sources of all the large streams flowing south into the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and north into James Bay. To the south of it we would have the present rich agricultural district of Southern Ontario. To the north of it we would have an agricultural territory nearly as large as the one to the south and capable of growing anything that the southern part produces with the exception of some of the more delicate fruits. The working of this immense forest will, for all time, produce timber supplies and furnish employment for the people living to the north and south of it; while furnishing a very handsome permanent revenue to the Province as a whole. South of it the country is now well developed by railways. To the north the Grand Trunk Pacific, the transcontinental road, will traverse the farming land, while roads at different points will connect these two systems from north to south running through this forest area. Already one road has been built from the main line of the C. P. R. north through the Temagami Forest Reserve to the farming district at the head of Lake Temiskaming, where there is already a very prosperous agricultural community, and where numerous towns and villages have sprung up within the last three years. The Railway is being operated to the chief town in the district, and is already built for some twenty-five miles beyond, and will intersect the Grand Trunk Pacific within a year or so. Westward two other lines are projected connecting the C. P. R. with the Grand Trunk Pacific.

I will say nothing at present as to the development of the agricultural district to the north, where only about half a million acres of the sixteen millions available have yet been opened for settlement, but I would like to direct attention for a few minutes to the possibilities in the way of cash dividends, or Provincial revenues, to be derived from the Permanent Crown Forest separating the two agricultural districts. Probably the most valuable timber grown in America is white pine. For the purpose for which it is chiefly used it has no equal, and its values are rapidly increasing in the market. So much is this the case that it is doubtful if one could purchase to-day a thousand feet of clear white pine lumber from any one concern in the City of Toronto. I have heard it said by builders here that it was doubtful if 1,000 feet of clear pine could be obtained in the city, and if so, it would bring a price equal to that paid for black walnut a few years ago, which is more than black walnut is worth to-day. The reason of this scarcity of clear pine lies in the fact that it is nearly all shipped to Great Britain, where it obtains a higher price than in the American market, leaving only the inferior grades to be sold in the United States and the Canadian market.

Except in special cases and in very small quantities now, all the territory that we have referred to as likely to form the future permanent forest area, is peculiarly the home of the white pine, and there is no part of it that has not at some time grown this timber. At present, owing to repeated fires, some small areas are nearly destitute of white pine and have grown less valuable trees, but it is all white pine country, and where white pine grew once it can be made to grow again under proper management. Recently I went into the question of the probable growth of white pine for the *Canadian Lumberman,* and made an estimate based on figures obtained by the Washington Bureau of Forestry, and other authorities, as to what we could expect after a long term of years as the annual increment of pine forest. The Washington Bureau of Forestry has estimated, after a careful investigation, that under ordinary forest conditions an acre of land will produce 59 and a fraction cubic feet per year. Of this, however, part would be timber of little value, but under artificial plantation the yield would be very much greater. We have very few instances in this country to judge from, but an instance is afforded by a plantation made in Nebraska fourteen years ago. It was only half an acre, but it was planted on what is called the Nebraska sand plains where most people doubted if it would grow at all. Thirteen years after the planting was done accurate measurements were made by the American Bureau of Forestry and it was found that the actual growth of this small plantation of pine had produced a total annual growth of 50·2 cubic feet for the half acre. This, converted into board measure would be over 600 feet per year on half an acre, or 1,200 feet per acre per year. These trees, of course, were planted at regular intervals, and would have a better chance for growth than trees growing naturally in the forest, but on the other hand the soil was bad and moisture deficient.

It would be impossible, however, to apply this large yield to the territory under discussion, as there would have to be deducted some water areas and some areas that have been burnt over so severely in times gone by as to remove most of the soil; and it would take a long time and the growth of shrubs and other lower forms of plant life before it could be got back into a condition to sustain a thrifty forest of pine. However, I do not think it would be unreasonable to apply an average of 150 feet B.M. per acre per year. There are numerous instances where 50,000 feet to the acre of pine have been cut, and I know of at least one instance in this Province where the Rathbun Company removed 100,000 feet per acre from a tract of ten acres in which a wind storm had blown down all the trees. One hundred and fifty years would be sufficient to grow a pine forest equal to this, and 50,000 feet to the acre grown in 150 years would bring an annual growth of over 300 feet, so that my estimate of 150 feet per acre per year B.M. may be taken as a very conservative estimate for the pine timber alone, without taking into account the other sorts of trees. The price of pine timber per thousand feet, as stated, has been rapidly advancing and is not likely to decrease. Our neighbours to the south will very shortly experience a timber famine, and at the recent Forestry Congress in Washington the alarm was sounded by a great many public men in no uncertain way, and it is therefore safe to conclude that the present value of pine will be increased in the near future, and the same is true of all the other timbers. Applying this estimate of 150 feet B.M. per acre per year to the 40 million acres of Permanent Reserves, we have a yearly growth of six billion feet, which at $5 per thousand (and it is now worth nearer $7), would represent the sum of $30,000,000 as the value of the annual growth of timber on the expected Permanent Crown Forest of the Province.

From this, of course, would need to be deducted the cost of management and fire protection, which will be considerably in excess of the present expenditure for that purpose, but under extensive management where the whole area would come under control of properly trained foresters this gross revenue could be increased. In Germany, where a very large proportion of the Crown Forests do not produce timber at all, the net revenue, after a very expensive and semi-military management, is about $1.54 per acre per year, while in some other European countries, in Saxony for instance, the net revenue is much greater, approximating, I believe, nearly $4.50 per acre per year. So that while our expensive management may be increased, with it will come increased yield and better methods of harvesting and sale.

It may be stated that we have very few well-trained foresters at present. We have, however, men engaged in the lumber business quite equal in ability to men in similar employment anywhere in the world. So far they have been concerned with removing as cheaply as possible the crop already grown, and their training for that is very nearly perfect. In the Forest Reserves system, however, where successive crops are expected to be removed from the same territory, the removing of the standing crop will have to be accomplished with a view of securing the most rapid growth of the most valuable kinds of trees for the future. This will require a different training from that had by the men now engaged in the woods, but with the demand the trained men will come, I have no doubt. At any rate I think I have shown that the possibilities, in fact the probabilities, of the future—with a continuation of the system recently adopted by the Province towards the exploitation of its forest wealth—means a great deal to the future of the Province, and a guarantee of the prosperity and therefore loyalty of the individual units making up the Province of Ontario, the larger unit which forms a part of the Empire.

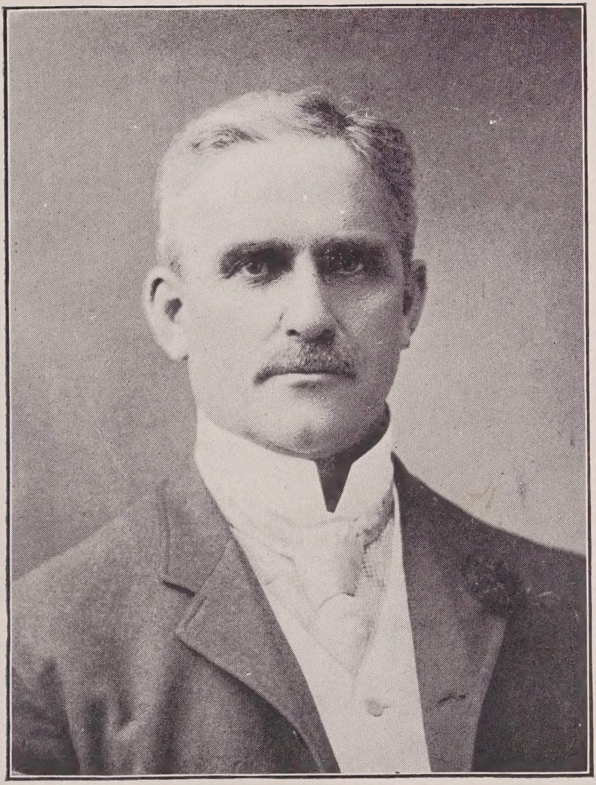
THE DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE.

Address by Colonel Sam. Hughes, M.P., on Thursday, February 2nd, 1905.

Colonel Mason and Gentlemen,—

Let me thank you, Sir, at the outset for your very kind introduction to this audience. I am pleased to see to-day so many of my old Toronto friends—my old fellow-students, a number of my old fellow-lacrosse players, and a number of old volunteers. I don't want to complain, but I hardly think it is fair for you to give away to the public why I went to South Africa. My wife made me go. (Laughter.) However, I have nothing to look back upon with regret in relation to either the antecedent or the succeeding incidents in connection with my career in South Africa. I sympathise very much with the aims of your Empire Club. The subject that has been selected for me—not of my own choosing, although it is very congenial—is the Defence of the Empire. I do not know that I deserve the parallel that was drawn by Mr. Corley at a meeting in Toronto which I attended recently, to show that I liked fighting the best of any man in the country. I certainly am no better fighter than thousands and tens of thousands of Canadians.

However, the points that I wish to make to-day refer to the defence of the Empire; and at the outset I may say that I can regard no possible defence of the Empire that does not involve a full partnership union of Great Britain and all her Colonies. It is not necessary that I should enter into the details of that proposition to-day, with the limited time at my disposal. In my opinion the geographical position of Canada, divided into east and west with a very large coast line and a very small population, at the present time absolutely precludes the idea of either independence or annexation—because independence would mean annexation. I shall not enter into details



Colonel Sam. Hughes, M.P.

of that proposition to-day, but will at greater length in the immediate future take that up before the people of the Dominion of Canada. Then, in connection with our full partnership union with Great Britain and all her Colonies, and the defensive system, I maintain, and as you are well aware have always maintained, that any system must be largely democratic—must be of the people. It would be impossible to maintain large standing armies and navies sufficient to be ready at all times—I mean leaving the rest of the people untrained—to meet the exigency that might possibly arise from some autocratic nation, such as Russia or other powers, that might seek to overthrow the union of Great Britain and her Colonies.

In the interest of the peoples concerned I maintain it is necessary to have a democratic defence system. It will reduce the cost to a minimum. It will add strength by having the whole of the peoples of the various parts of the Empire united in one common bond of sympathy, and it will give to each component part of the Empire an interest in the others. The shipping interests, the commercial interests, will all be more or less directly benefited by closer unity. There will be thousands of high and prominent positions that will then be thrown open to the young men of the Dominion of Canada, because we will then be full partners in the Empire, and will have as much right as have the people of the old Mother-land to-day to share the commercial agencies, the consular agencies, the various offices in state affairs as well as in military and naval affairs. It will open up to the young men of this Dominion a vast sphere of usefulness, and I maintain it will tend to the betterment of the whole Empire and to the peace of the world.

Now, Sir, why is it necessary to have a defensive system at all? Why should we not go along without spending any money on defence? The same as Corea, the same as Costa Rica, and various other nations that we could mention in the world? I noticed in your Toronto press the other day an address from our good friend, Mr. S. H. Blake, in which he condemns in unmeasured terms the policy and the spirit of Militarism. Let me say here that I heartily endorse every word that Mr. Blake has said against Militarism. But I am prepared to prove, as I have on other occasions endeavoured to prove, that Militarism is the exact antithesis of a Militia system. It is not necessary to enter into the details further at this point. Mr. Blake also pointed out that Canada had no right to bear any of the cost of Imperial administration, or for instance, to take any part in sending troops to quell any disturbance or to enforce any principle in far-off Thibet; and he supplemented that with the words "situated as we now are," and I heartily agree with that statement of Mr. Blake also, Sir; but his words did not to my mind involve having no defensive system at all. I will quote from an editorial in the Toronto *Telegram* last year, dealing with the benefit even to the farming community, much more to the commercial community, of having a strong Navy:

> Agriculture would see its products rot on the fields of Canada if Britain shared Sir William Mulock's one-sided love for the "life-giving plowshare." The agriculture-preserving battleship enables the farmers of Canada to get the products of the life-giving plowshare to the markets of the world. Every country needs plowshares, but unless the despotism of a military nation is to rule the earth, the free nations must shelter the life-giving plowshare behind the rifles of an army and the battleships of a navy.

The Toronto *News,* in commenting upon the policy of drift in military matters, and of taking no part in Imperial defence, said at that time in criticism of similar views: "For land defence we will depend upon the kindness of our good neighbour, Uncle Sam. For maritime defence we already shelter behind the skirts of Great Britain. This is definite, and, of course, carries with it a high spirit and a self-respect eminently suited to young Canada." Those are the words of two of your city papers in relation to the matter of a defensive system. I will supplement them by a very able quotation from the Ottawa *Citizen* of a recent date. Referring to the incident wherein Admiral Togo had addressed the Japanese people on his return to the capital, and commenting on his heroic dead, the paper observed:

> In some countries the very best people differ from Admiral Togo. Their business interests are so important that they really could not think of dying for their country. War is brutal. And, besides, it is very disturbing to business and vested interests. In fact no person who has not an amiable weakness for risking his skin would go to war. It's not business. But war has now become more than ever before in history a matter of hordes fighting hordes. The first exponents of modern war on a grand scale happen to be unique. One sends hundreds of thousands to the slaughter because it is an autocracy and the hundreds of thousands have to go whether they like it or not. The other sends hundreds of thousands because they are a race that is afflicted with what a Higher Criticism regards as fanatical patriotism.
>
> But it will be a nice question as to what will happen some day when a nation afflicted with fanatical patriotism decides to measure its strength with a nation blessed with what might be termed by a still Higher Criticism a fanatical commercialism. If one-half the population of the latter nation won't have time to go to war for business reasons, and the other half won't go because they don't have to, where are the hundreds of thousands to form that particular horde to come from? And if they cannot get a horde out to fight for them, what will become of the business interests?

If time permitted I could point out by figures that there is no nation on the face of the earth that pretends to have any commerce to defend but what spends millions on a Navy for the defence of that commerce. Canada, ranking about sixth in the tonnage of the world, is the only nation that does not contribute one dollar to the defence of that tonnage, and we are content to live hanging on to the skirts of Great Britain, and letting the British tax-payer do our defensive work. Mr. Blake is a man of strong ideas. I have always admired the strong hold that he takes on public questions. But let us follow Mr. Blake's line out to its logical conclusions. He objects to certain things in men, in governments, and in nations. To follow out his objection he must have something more than the mere strength of his voice. In dealing with nations and governments and peoples, it is necessary at times, when oligarchies become all-powerful, or when nations become tyrannical, that people should go farther than mere words, and should assert themselves in open fight. Therefore, to carry out Mr. Blake's own words to a logical conclusion, he would of necessity be obliged to keep up an army of some defensive force for preserving liberty among the nations of the earth. It will not do to go on with the policy of the Quaker and have no fighting force, except it be the policy of the Quakers who were coming over on a sailing ship in the days of pirates. These Quakers refused to bear warlike weapons, saying it was contrary to their religious principles, but they hinted to the Captain that they had seen a number of axes on board, and as they were very handy with that weapon they might be of service with the axe. It was noticed that the Quakers were bringing the axes down on the heads of the pirates as they clambered over the vessel, and one was heard to say: "Friend, if thou wilt persist in placing thy head where I am about to strike, thou must take the consequences." So that the most peaceful type of Britisher that I have ever met, when he is brought face to face with danger has fight in him, and rightly so, too.

There are in Canada, Sir, five classes of people. One class aspires—some publicly, more of them, unfortunately, in their hearts—for independence from the Motherland. I am pleased to say that, in my opinion, that class is waning. There is another class which aspires for annexation to the United States. Of the two evils—independence and annexation—well, you can take your choice, but I would prefer annexation to the United States to Canadian independence to-morrow, and I am prepared to give my reasons at any time. There is another class which says: "Let us stop as we are, and control and pay for our own defence." I shall not enter into the details of that here to-day; I think on the face of it it carries its own condemnation. There is another class which says: "Stay as we are, a colony of the Empire, and contribute not only to our own Militia, but also vote sums to the Imperial treasury for battleships, and to carry on wars in foreign lands."

That carries with it, to my mind, its own condemnation. It involves the principle for which our neighbours across the border fought and died, and which has been recognized throughout the world ever since—that taxation carries with it the right of representation. Then the final class—and I believe it represents the sentiment that is paramount throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion of Canada among those who have any association directly with the old Mother-land—want a full partnership union, a federal union of Great Britain and her Colonies along lines wherein we shall share their burdens, their joys and sorrows, and take part in the upbuilding of a great Empire. With that end in view, I have this Session, as in other Sessions, given notice before the Parliament of Canada that I will move:

> That in the opinion of this House the best interests of Canada and the Empire at large would be advanced, and the peace, progress and prosperity of humanity be assured, by a full partnership union of Great Britain and her Colonies; wherein there would be a united Imperial Parliament, empowered to deal with Inter-Imperial, International, Commercial, Financial and other necessary National problems; but leaving to the existing Parliaments their present powers, functions, control of tariff, and other matters necessary for their own purposes.

With that carried out, Sir, we would then be prepared to go on with the democratic plan for the organization of the Imperial Militia. There would be no extravagant taxation under a broad Militia system. There would be no creation of classes. There would be no humiliating of the men by making the private soldier a separate class by himself and the officer a separate class by himself. But you may well ask: Have the Militia ever defended the Empire, or could they defend the Empire today? Of course a regular standing army and an enormous navy for such an Empire would be absolutely necessary; but it would not require anything like the great strength that the present plans would involve. But as proof that untrained Militia boys right from the plow, who had never shouldered a rifle before, can be and have been of service, I will point to South Africa in the recent

War; to the War of the French Revolution; to the War of American Independence, and to various other wars that have been carried on from time to time in the world. Those are three notable instances in which men have done splendid service for their country without any training. And South Africa bears witness to the fact that a trained Militia can take its place side by side with the crack British regiments of the regular Army.

I saw the Toronto Company march in from Sunnyside, and they carried themselves, after a long and tedious march and difficult fighting, with all the credit that could be given to any Imperial Regiment; and this was the opinion of Colonel Pilcher. And, Sir, the annals of the Battle of Paardeberg show that the boys of the First Contingent, trained militiamen of the Dominion of Canada, did their work with the Gordons or Cornwalls or any other Regiment of the Imperial service that fought on that bloody field. The argument that these boys, once they have taken part in active service, are of no further use to the country, but that they become loafers and lazy fellows, lying around the various towns and cities of the Dominion, or the country from which they would come, is answered by the fact that your own son, Sir, takes his place in the Office;* that every boy, so far as I know, who fought for Canada in South Africa is to-day following some useful employment back in his own old home and is just as good a citizen as though he had not gone to the front.

Now, coming down to the details of an Empire Militia system, I have never believed that discipline and training meant abasement to the men trained; it never meant repression or slavery. On the contrary, discipline means polish, education, the development of the spirit of individuality and of liberty; it means patriotism and loyalty to your country; it means the development of the physical, it means manhood; and from the military viewpoint it means knowing how to shoot. I have never been of those who, once I happened to get a commission in the ranks of the Militia, wished every young fellow to walk up and salute me as though I were a superior genius, not even when I was in uniform; but on no consideration would I allow any man to regard me as a military man when I was not in uniform. Keep down this spirit of militarism, this spirit of class, and recognize that it is worth that has made you, Sir, respected by the men of the City of Toronto, and not the fact that you happen to wear the rank of Colonel. It is worth that has made by good friend Denison here respected from one end of Canada to the other, and not the mere fact that he happens to be Colonel Denison. It is the man that commands respect, and not the uniform.

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*Note. Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O., Manager of the Toronto branch of the Home Bank of Canada.

What would be my plan in detail? I am an old school-teacher and naturally gravitate in that direction. I would divide the Empire according to school divisions, and I would begin with the boys at the age of twelve. You may smile, but if you look back you will realize that at that age you could criticize the teacher as well as you could in mature years. If you train a boy to use a lacrosse stick, it will instinctively come to him when he is old. Therefore I would have a system in the Empire, democratic and cheap, by which these young fellows would be trained at ages from twelve to sixteen. When they would get older I would have them drafted into regiments and brigades, with the present system or some proper system, and division into the various units that are absolutely necessary for the upbuilding of an army. Then for the training of officers I would pursue a democratic course. When I was attending the old Military School I stood side by side with a Colonel in the ranks; he was of no more importance in that School than a humble private. We were there not as soldiers, but as cadets. The test was educational and not military. I would have these young fellows trained to be officers in the various military schools of the country as cadets, and I would have them take out a commission as full colonel, if possible, before they left school, so that when the call to arms would come these young men could leave their shops and counting-houses and farms and take their place in the ranks of the country. That would give us a trained Militia. Let us take the United States, which is usually considered the most expensive country in the world, except Great Britain, from a military viewpoint. Last year the United States spent for their Army $115,035,411; for their Navy $102,956,102; and for Pensions $142,550,266; or a total of $360,541,779 spent in war; equal to $4.50 per head for every man, woman and child in the United States. Canada spends for Militia 47 cents a year, and on her Navy not one cent.

In conclusion I would point out that the great resources of the Empire—not only of Canada, but of the other great Colonies and even of the Motherland—are yet in their infancy, and that to-day the cry throughout the length and breadth of the Motherland and of many Colonies is towards Canada—

> To her deep verdant valleys and broad fields so fertile,
> Where wealth's for the winning if will guides the hand,
> Where flowers bloom fairer and landscapes are rarer,
> And skies are more bright than our own fatherland.

Give us a full partnership union, where the people of the Motherland and of the various other Colonies would have all the rights of citizenship in the Dominion of Canada, and where we would have equal rights with them and, mark you, Sir, this country will, from the material viewpoint alone, from the view of its progress and prosperity, be greatly benefited—much more so than we can realize at the present time.

THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF ONTARIO.

Address by Professor A. P. Coleman, M.A., Ph.D., of Toronto University, on February 9th, 1905.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The mineral wealth of any country depends very largely on its geological features; and of course that is as true of Ontario as of other countries. The geology of Ontario includes two rather distinct parts. There is the part we are familiar with here in Southern Ontario and there is a part to the north that we are not so familiar with, although we are beginning to talk about it very largely. All our rocks in this region belong to a pretty old formation; in fact none of the rocks of Ontario reach higher up than the Devonian System. That is one of the very ancient formations; it in fact underlies the coal-bearing series. Our rocks do not quite reach up to the level of the great series of rocks that carry coal, so that our fuel resources from a mineral standpoint are limited. That is one of the drawbacks of the Province of Ontario. We have our petroleum coming from the Devonian rocks and that in Ontario is one of the most important products. We had our natural gas but a considerable part of that has been burned and we are burning the rest as rapidly as possible—and so is Detroit and Buffalo.

Another source of fuel is practically inexhaustible as far as Ontario is concerned, both in the south and the north; that is our vast peat deposits. We have had a little uncomfortable experience with peat. I don't know whether any of you have dropped any money in Peat Companies, but we have that as a resource. If fuel grows more expensive we will, no doubt, turn to peat. We have the most unscientific way possible of heating our houses. Somebody digs the anthracite coal in Pennsylvania and it is shipped across to us at great expense and trouble, and hauled from the coal dealers to our cellars, and carried on a man's back and dumped into our coal bins, and someone shovels it into the furnace and afterwards shovels out the ashes, and then a man comes along and dumps the ashes into a cart and carries it off. You will all recognize that is an absurdity from a scientific standpoint. What we should have is the combustible without ash, and without lugging off in sacks and so on. We should in fact burn gas. I suppose I hear you say ninety cent gas won't pay and that coal even at six or seven dollars a ton is better than that. It is possible to produce a very fair quality of heating gas from all sorts of carbonaceous material. Peat will make good gas. It is used in the Old Country to some extent. Probably a cheap gas could be produced from our own peat and coal and we should simply have to turn on the tap and touch a match and have no ashes to attend to whatever. I don't think we will be civilized enough to reach that point yet.

As far as Southern Ontario is concerned, there are comparatively few resources that are looked on as mineral in the ordinary sense. Among them I should mention the thick sheets of rock salt that underlie the south-west peninsula. We have some thousands of square miles underlain with some hundred or more feet of it. There was a time in the history of Ontario when the climate was different, and the sea water being evaporated the rock salt was deposited. That is of some importance. Nearly $400,000 worth of salt is produced per annum, of good quality. But we have in that respect an opportunity for some other important mineral industries which we have not begun to touch at all, such as the manufacture of sodium compounds—caustic soda, washing soda, and baking powder—and then the compounds we use for bleaching (bleaching powder and hydrochloric acid) and those industries are bound to come before very long. A slight start has been made in that direction in the Soo region; however, it was not very successful.

The only other feature of great importance in our Southern Ontario mineral resources is the structural materials that are provided, and I suppose first among them is clay. I suppose when you go out to the Don Valley you think that clay is a nuisance. It is our greatest single mineral resource in Southern Ontario. We build of brick. You go through the United States and you find there towns built of wood, but clay is the typical Canadian building material, and it is clay and shale that gives us the right material for brick. More than a million and a half dollars' worth of brick is produced every year. When you add to that the lime and sand that go to make mortar and cement—because Ontario is the great cement producing province of the Dominion and we produce more than nine-tenths of all the cement made in Canada—you will see that we have large resources in the way of structural materials. Cement is coming more and more into use and becoming of great importance. In 1903 nearly a million and a quarter dollars' worth of cement was produced in the Province.

Now I think perhaps we had better turn from Old Ontario to New Ontario. While Old Ontario is of great importance to us directly, and while these structural materials I have referred to are building up Toronto and the other cities; after all our great hope in the future will be in Northern Ontario. I hope you will take the opportunity to look at a good geological map when you get home, or at some other time, and you will find one thing that will perhaps startle you a little in this matter, namely, that when we speak of New Ontario and Old Ontario, and think of New Ontario as a sort of appendage to the other part, we are putting the cart before the horse; in fact it is a case of the tail wagging the dog. Old Ontario is a little fragment of the whole Province, a comparatively small portion of it. When you see it spread out on the map you will see the great area of the Province is to the north, and there we have a much more ancient set of rocks. Rather odd isn't it, that what we call New Ontario is the oldest land in the world. It is older than Old Ontario; it is in reality perhaps the oldest land known anywhere in the world—the oldest large mass.

We have the great archæan area to the north. We have rocks that we geologists call Laurentian and Huronian. The Laurentian rocks are not of the greatest importance to us, but the Huronian rocks are of vital importance to the future of Ontario and Canada as a whole. The Laurentian rocks include certain important minerals, and I will touch on them. In the Laurentian, which is pretty largely developed in the Ottawa Valley, we have a number of economic products that I think we have every right to take a certain pride in. The hardest mineral in the world next to the diamond is found in larger quantities in Eastern Ontario than anywhere in the world, and that is corundum. Corundum is now taking the place of emery. Some of you may possibly have to do with emery and emery wheels. I don't know much of them, practically, but I am told that a corundum wheel is at least twice as efficient as an emery wheel. The corundum industry is advancing and will be a very important one. The amount of corundum that has been produced in a year is about $90,000 worth. Besides that we have perhaps the largest single mica mine in the world. Those interested in the electrical industry will know that mica is playing a large part as an insulator. We produce a large part of the mica used in the United States in Eastern Ontario. More than $100,000 worth of mica was mined in the Province in 1903. We have some minor resources of somewhat the same general nature, such as graphite and feldspar; but I do not intend to refer to them because they are not of great practical importance.

When we speak of the mineral resources of the country we are very apt to think of the metals. Now I am going on to speak of the metals of Northern Ontario. However, perhaps I should first say something about the fuels because, after all, the fuels are the basic features of the country. This question of fuel it is that settles a great many of the economic features of the country. Our fuels in the north are somewhat lacking, we must admit. We have no coal deposits that are probably of workable magnitude or character. On the Moose and some of the tributaries of the Moose River we find a little lignite coal, but no great amount of it. We have also to some extent a chance of getting petroleum in the north. We have the Devonian rocks on the slopes towards Hudson's Bay, but so far we do not know that they contain petroleum. We have also the immense stretches of peat which is a reserve fuel we can turn to when cheap fuel of other sorts becomes scarce. I want to say one word about a curious episode in the history of the north country with which I was somewhat connected. You may have heard of a discovery of anthracite near Chelmsford, not far from Sudbury. We were going to supply our own furnaces with our own anthracite. I regret to admit I was the man who pricked the bubble and who showed that we were not going to have the chance of using coal from there. It is a curious fact, nevertheless, that there is probably as much carbon up in that region as in Pennsylvania. I went through some computations in that respect and there is one sheet of rocks about two-thirds of a mile thick covering 140 square miles that consists of five per cent. of carbon, but, unfortunately, it is all disseminated through the rock. There is only five or ten per cent. in the rock and we can't use it as fuel; there is not enough to be of great importance.

Turning to the metalliferous side of the question we have in Northern Ontario practically all the important metals that are of great economic importance, and the majority of them have been mined at one time or another. The list of metals we have actually mined perhaps I may read: Gold, silver, copper, nickel, cobalt, zinc, lead, and iron. All these metals have been mined in Northern Ontario; and besides that there are two or three rare metals, such as platinum and palladium, which have been produced in Northern Ontario; although we hear nothing about them because they go out of the Province and are refined at Constable Hook in New Jersey and one or two other places. They may have more importance in the future. Taking up the metals in the order in which I have mentioned them, gold, I suppose, is the metal *par excellence* which every one thinks of when he wants to make his fortune quickly. In reality you know it is the quickest way to lose your fortune to go into a gold mine. Perhaps as a geologist I ought to be cautious how I make remarks of this sort. I think, however, deliberately, that gold costs as much as it is worth, on the average. Some one makes a large fortune out of it but some one else balances it off by losing. I think that may be looked on as a law of business though it applies to the world as a whole and not to individual parts of the world. I suppose if you took the Eldorado Creek in the Yukon it would not apply at all. There would be an immense margin in favour of the mine worker. But I think the other remark is probably correct because gold is the register of value and is bound to take its balance.

As far as gold is concerned Ontario is in somewhat a singular position. I have been connected with the Bureau of Mines for several years and have visited most of the gold regions of Ontario, and I must say I have been greatly disappointed in the way things have turned out. We have gold practically from one end to the other of Northern Ontario. I don't know of a region in the world where gold is more widely diffused than in the Huronian rocks. We have it, for instance, down in Madoc. Some of us perhaps remember when there was a great excitement, in 1866, over gold there. Then we have gold to the north in the neighbourhood of Lake Wahnapitae and still farther to the north, and then in Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods; and most of you have had a little iron in the fire in connection with the western gold deposits. There are simply thousands of places where gold has been found in Ontario and sometimes rich specimens; but up to the present time I doubt whether a single gold mine in Ontario can be said to have been profitable. All told we have produced more than two million dollars' worth of gold in Ontario, but we have paid for it by a great many more millions, I suppose.

Something like that could be said also of silver.

Ontario was at one time quite an important silver producer. Some of you may remember the famous Silver Islet Mine which, about 1870, was in its prime—a little scrap of an island in Lake Superior. When they came to explore it they dredged out from the water some thousands of dollars' worth of native silver. They then sank a hole in the island and they had a shaft more than 1,200 feet deep and they produced from it more than three and one-quarter million dollars' worth of silver. A very rich deposit, but a deposit I suppose that has rather deceived many in that region, since the other silver mines of the Port Arthur region have not proved very profitable. While I am mentioning silver I should refer to the new set of deposits that have been found in the Temiskaming region. You remember when the Government Railway made its way through there they found native silver along with exceedingly rich cobalt ore. Native silver in slabs of ore, worth $35,000 for a carload in some cases; and mines have been disposed of, I am told, for $250,000. That may be an exaggerated estimate, but I believe it is correct for I have good reason to say so. There are probably other properties which may be of great value. We don't know what the future has for that silver mining region, but it looks as though it may be of considerable importance. The deposits are very small, few of them longer than this building and the width only a few inches, but the ore is exceedingly rich. So that even with a small vein there the mining has only gone to a very slight extent. The total silver production of Ontario, as far as I have been able to work it out, is about $4,700,000, of which the Silver Islet Mine produced about three-quarters.

However, it is not the metals that are called precious that are really so valuable and precious. The more important are those humdrum ones we use in our ordinary business life and which serve the engineer. So that it is when you come to copper and nickel and iron that we find our principal resources in that respect. Copper is one of the most important metals that we mine in Ontario. It may surprise you to know we have mined copper for very nearly sixty years in Ontario and in New Ontario, too. The mines in the Bruce Mines region, north of Lake Huron, were at work fifty-nine years ago, I believe, to be exact. A large quantity of copper was produced in those days. It was worth nearly double what it is now, and they could afford to mine under very disadvantageous conditions; with no railway and only steamship connection with the rest of the world. After those richer deposits were somewhat worked out there was a lull in copper mining. Then came the discovery of copper where the then new Pacific Railway cut through the region about Sudbury. We had the Copper Cliff Mine which was taken up as a copper mine and contained a large amount of copper. But they found before they had disposed of any large amount of their ore that the more important metal there was nickel. So that it was nickel that attracted attention from that time on. Copper mines for themselves have not played such a very large part in Ontario although they have been of some importance and will, I believe, be of more importance in the future. The total amount of copper produced in Ontario is about $7,000,000 worth in value, as far as I can find out. Of this probably one-half was produced by those old mines that I have referred to, and the rest has been produced, practically, altogether in connection with the nickel of the Sudbury nickel region.

I shall now refer to nickel. The Sudbury nickel region is unique in the world. I think we may safely say it has not its parallel anywhere else in the world. It is unique in its geological relationships. All the mines of nickel now being worked in Ontario are connected with one great sheet of eruptive rock. It looks as though that great sheet of molten rock had brought to the surface all our great and important nickel deposits. We have not found deposits elsewhere. We have a sheet there about forty miles long and fifteen or sixteen miles wide and here and there, all along the outside edge of it, we have nickel deposits. The Creighton Mine is probably the largest in the world. Then there is the Victoria Mine and a number of others that I need not refer to. The Copper Cliff was the most famous of the older mines, but the Creighton Mine is one of the strongest mines we have at present. The Creighton Mine has probably produced as much ore as any single mine in Ontario—800,000 tons of ore, and the ore is quite rich. We have one iron mine in Ontario that has produced about the same amount but of very much less value of course. The nickel ore in that mine and in some of the other rich mines of the region carries about five per cent. of nickel and two per cent. of copper. They produce on the whole nearly as much copper as nickel, but the nickel is the important substance.

Until about three years ago our rival, which is New Caledonia, an island in the South Pacific, a penal settlement of the French, was a little ahead of us. They divided the world's supply between them. Two or three years ago we got the advantage of them and we are now somewhat ahead of New Caledonia and I think the promise is we shall stay ahead. Up to the year 1903, the last year I have statistics for, 39,107 tons of nickel had been produced from ores in the Sudbury region. This ore was valued at the mine at something over $11,000,000. If you value it at the price of refined nickel, sold on a large scale, it would be worth over $31,000,000. Last year the mine produced something over 6,000 tons and the value is over $1,000,000. Nickel is the metal we have to depend upon for our future as a great mining country. The amount produced is increasing all the time, and the uses of the metal are increasing. We are beginning to use it for structural purposes. It was formerly mostly employed in armour plate.

There is one use of nickel I should like to see put into force in Canada, that is as a coinage. I don't mean the American nickel, but why shouldn't we have the real nickel, which is a beautiful silver metal? It would be far better than our bronze coins. Why shouldn't we have our one cent and five cent coins of nickel? Make them octagonal if you are afraid of mixing them with other coins. I should like to have it made into coinage and not all turned into armour plate, although the British Navy, I believe, is defended by armour plate which contains Canadian nickel; so that we are bearing at least one part of our share in Empire defence if not our duty in the other way. (I offer this as a concession to the Empire Club.) Nickel has become of more and more importance for various purposes. Nickel steel is being used for bicycle parts and ocean steamers where they require a particularly strong type of steel for shafts and so on. We have several uses of that sort that are important.

Finally, a word or two about the iron ores of Ontario. We have very large iron ranges in Ontario, but up to the present we have not done very much in the mining of them. Only one mine can be said to be of rank in Canada, that is the famous Helen Mine. About 800,000 tons of ore have been produced from that mine, not of the best quality, but of serviceable quality, which was sold to the United States to mix with the richer and softer ores of their own iron ranges. We have a number of iron deposits of great size. You have all heard of the Atikokan range, and the Moose Mountain Range in Hutton Township. There are there several million tons of magnetite. I am told by one of the best experts in iron ranges in the United States that within twenty-five years the ledges of Lake Superior deposits on the American side will be done. Within twenty-five years instead of all our iron men using the rich Lake Superior ores from the south of the Lake they will begin to have to use other ores, and many of our ores, at present hardly of a quality to compete, are being looked to, and we find our American brethren are recognizing that. Last summer there were two or three exploring parties representing great American firms of unknown name exploring in our north, using the dip needle to find where the magnetic attractions were. We have great resources in that way which we must not dispose of entirely to our neighbours; we want some of it ourselves. It is probable that certain other deposits of somewhat higher grade will turn up. In fact there are one or two that are likely to be pretty safe as good ore producers at the present time.

Ontario has been an iron producer from away back, to use the slang expression. I suppose you are hardly aware that in 1800 there was an iron furnace at work in this Province in Gananoque. In 1815 there was an iron furnace at work on the north shore of Lake Erie and it produced an excellent quality of iron. They melted it immediately down into potash kettles and things of that kind and sold them to the farmers and did very well. There was no more iron produced at a profit until Hamilton started its works—partly on ore produced from the United States. There was some iron produced at Three Rivers, I think, a little earlier than in Ontario.

I have said all that is necessary in regard to these matters. I want to call your attention to one or two general features and then I shall close. We are the second Province in mineral productions. British Columbia is well ahead of us, but Nova Scotia is behind us and the Klondyke is considerably behind us. The Klondyke three or four years ago was ahead of us. Although we have gone in a somewhat quieter way about the work than British Columbia and the West, still we have produced satisfactory results. In 1891, the first year in which our Bureau of Mines, which has done very good work for the Province, estimated the total value of the mineral products of the Province, the value was $4,700,000. In 1903 the amount was $12,870,000; which I think is a very satisfactory rate of increase. If we had taken the year before, 1902, we should have had $13,390,000 which would have been even more satisfactory—but the collapse of the Lake Superior Power Company cut down the output for 1903. This year it will rise again. I think we shall have a steady increase in our production of minerals for the future. It seems to me that the prospects are very good for Ontario, and mainly for Northern Ontario. We push a railway up there and stumble upon silver ores worth a quarter of a million dollars a mine. That sort of thing will happen again. We don't know the full resources of the North; but I feel certain they are going to be great.

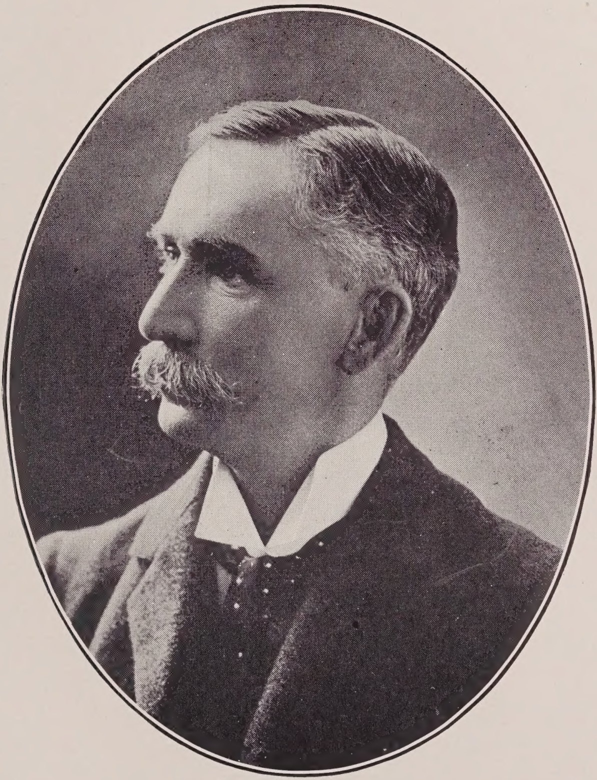
NORTH-WEST AUTONOMY.

Address by Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L., lately Superintendent of Education in the North-West Territories, on Thursday, February 23rd, 1905.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Let me thank you for the compliment involved in the invitation to address you to-day. The Prime Minister of Canada took two hours and a half—and you know what an able speaker he is, one of the ablest in Canada—in which to present the topic that I have thirty minutes to deal with this afternoon. I appreciate the compliment, Sir! Powers of condensation greater than I am possessed of and the utmost rapidity of speech, would scarcely enable me to touch on more than a few of the important subjects included in this Bill. However, the speech of Sir Wilfrid has simplified matters somewhat for me; although it has compelled me to change to a very large extent the type of address which I intended to deliver. He has summed up under four heads the essential features of the new Autonomy Bill, and perhaps I cannot do better, after a brief historical introduction, than to take these heads in order, and present what the people of the North-West expected, and what the Prime Minister says they will be granted. It will be for you to judge as to the justice of the Bill and as to how far it will meet the conditions in that new country—assuming, of course, that my presentation is a sufficiently accurate one from the North-West standpoint.

Prior to 1870 all that vast stretch of British North America, the streams of which flow into Hudson's Bay, was known as Rupert's Land. The North-Western Territories included the remaining part of the British territory lying west of Rupert's Land, to the borders of British Columbia, and northward. The streams poured their waters into the Arctic Ocean. These two terri-



Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.,
Lately Superintendent of Education in the North-West Territories.

tories, Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, made up all that great area with which the present Autonomy Bill, in the minds of most, deals. As a matter of fact it deals with only a comparatively small section of this area. That district known as Rupert's Land now appears on this map before you as Ungava, Keewatin, Manitoba, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, a portion of Alberta and Athabasca, and of Mackenzie so far as the waters flow into Hudson's Bay. The other district, where the waters flow out into the Arctic Ocean, was known as the North-Western Territory. These two districts were in 1870 admitted into and became part of the Dominion of Canada, under the name of the North-West Territories. The history of the transfer is of interest. The Hudson's Bay Company, under its Charter of Incorporation, granted by Charles II. in 1670, claimed to be invested with absolute proprietorship, subordinate sovereignty, and exclusive traffic of Rupert's Land. In 1864 the Quebec Conference was held, and the sixty-ninth Resolution gives us the reason for the acquisition of the West by the Dominion: "The communications with the North-Western Territories and the improvements required for the development of the trade of the great West with the sea-board are regarded by this Conference as subjects of the highest importance to the Federated Provinces." In 1867 an Address to the Queen from the Senate and the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, declared:

> That it would promote the prosperity of the Canadian people, and conduce to the advantage of the whole Empire if the Dominion of Canada, constituted under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, were extended westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean; that the colonization of the fertile lands of the Saskatchewan, the Assiniboia, and the Red River Districts; the development of the mineral wealth which abounds in the regions of the North-West; and the extension of commercial intercourse through the British Possessions in America from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans; are alike dependent upon the establishment of a stable government for the maintenance of law and order in the North-Western Territories; that the welfare of a sparse and widely-scattered population of British subjects of European origin, already inhabiting those remote and unorganized

territories, would be materially enhanced by the formation therein of political institutions bearing analogy, as far as circumstances will admit, to those now existing in the several Provinces of this Dominion.

These were the reasons given by the Parliament of Canada for the acquisition of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territories. In 1868-69 an agreement was arrived at in London between the English Government, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Canadian Parliament, "by which Her Majesty accepted a surrender from the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into the Hudson's Bay, of all lands, territories, rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers, and authorities," whatsoever they might be. In return therefor, a cash payment of £300,000 was made, and certain privileges as to the retention of limited amounts of lands in certain areas were retained. This cash payment was raised by way of a loan, the British Government guaranteeing interest at four per cent.; the Canadian Government undertaking to pay into a Sinking Fund one per cent. per annum on the entire amount of the loan in addition to the interest on the entire loan. The final payment of this sum was due in April, 1904. I have not the Public Accounts for the year 1904, but the Sinking Fund, at the end of 1902-3, amounted to $1,002,403.11, and I assume that in 1904 the final payment was made.

I wish you to note particularly at this point that this sum of £300,000 quieted the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to Ungava, the districts of land that are now parts of Ontario and Quebec, Keewatin, Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, Athabasca, Saskatchewan, Yukon, Mackenze, etc. Let us get this point clearly before our minds. This so-called "purchase" included more than the lands at present contained within the North-West Territories, and vastly more than the area to be set apart as two new Provinces. It included a part of what is now Ontario, and a huge belt of land taken out of Ungava in 1898, and added by the Dominion Government to Quebec. Eastern people have been too ready to assert that *they* purchased the lands of the West, and having paid for them had sole proprietary rights. What are the facts? From the first payment till the final settlement, we of the West, through customs and excise duties, paid our share of the purchase, man for man. There were not so many of us, but, as the Customs returns will show, we contributed more per capita than you. I have yet to learn that Ontario or Quebec, in consideration of these added areas to which I have just referred, has made any special payments towards this £300,000 charged against the Territories. A knowledge of these facts may tend to lessen the number of Eastern people who make these allusions to purchase.

Let me now speak of the stages by which we gradually arrived at the point where Autonomy became a necessity. At first the North-West Territories were placed under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. In 1876 a Lieutenant-Governor for the Territories was appointed, with a Council of five appointed members. Later, elective members were admitted to the Council, three Judges sitting in this rudimentary Assembly to advise, and to see that territorial legislation did not conflict with the Dominion authority. In 1891 the North-West Assembly became a purely elective body, with power to pass Ordinances in relation to expenditures, etc. In 1898 Mr. Haultain brought up the question of Autonomy in the Assembly; and later, in the country, by means of a series of addresses. The reasons assigned by him were in the main: (1) The need for more money with which to carry on his Government, the revenue granted by the Dominion being quite inadequate to meet the needs of the Territories; and (2) the extension of Legislative jurisdiction and powers so as to develop institutions suited to the necessities of the country.

It has been said, and it is probably true, that Mr. Haultain is more concerned to-day with the financial arrangements to be made than with anything else. No one acquainted with the facts should be surprised if it were so. Year after year, for some thirteen years, he went down to Ottawa to both political parties, cap in hand, with an itemized list of necessary expenditures. What did he get from year to year? He thought himself not so badly off if he obtained half of what he asked for, and he was surprised when he got two-thirds. And these items were not made up with a view to possible reduction, later. I was for years in charge of one of the Departments, and I know the straits to which we were reduced from time to time to find money for our actual needs. The Eastern members of the Dominion House did not understand the conditions, did not realize the extent of our territory, and the kind of difficulties we were struggling with, nor the great possibilities in the West which everyone sees now, but which we saw long ago.

In the Legislative Assembly at Regina, on May 2nd, 1900, Mr. Haultain moved a Resolution which, after reciting the conditions under which the Territories were admitted into, and became part of the Dominion, and stating that the sum of money granted each year by the Government never bore any adequate proportion to the financial obligations imposed by the enlargement and development of the political institutions created by the Dominion Government, ended with a request that His Excellency, the Governor-General-in-Council, be prayed to order inquiries to be made and accounts taken, with a view to the settlement of the terms and conditions upon which the Territories, or any part of them, may be established as a Province. He supported this Resolution in an exhaustive speech, dealing with the historical, legal, and financial aspects of the proposition. He pointed out that the Territories then had a larger population than that of British Columbia a few years ago, larger than that of Prince Edward Island at that date, and that the people of the Territories had shown for thirteen years their ability to exercise intelligently the powers of self-government within the limits permitted by the Dominion Parliament.

In 1901, Mr. Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, suggested the holding of a Conference at Ottawa to talk over the question of Autonomy. To this Mr. Haultain agreed, but the year passed without any date being fixed for the said Conference. In December, 1901, Mr. Haultain wrote to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, presenting a statement of the reasons which led the Assembly to request that inquiries might be made and accounts taken with a view to the establishing of Provincial institutions. He pointed out that the increase in population, due to immigration, had increased the expenditure for education, roads, bridges, ferries, etc., and that there was need for improved transportation in the older settlements to facilitate the bringing of the products of the farm and the ranch to the markets. He showed that the public revenues of the Territories went to swell the Consolidated Fund of Canada; that the public domain within the Territories was employed for purely Federal purposes; that the Territorial Legislature had for all practical purposes to depend upon the Dominion Government for all supplies wherewith to administer the Government of the Territories; and that they never received enough for their actual and crying necessities. As an illustration he had asked that year for $600,000, giving details therefor, and had received but $375,000. This had been their experience year after year. Their administrative difficulties were increasing, and they had been forced to duplicate much work now done by the Dominion Parliament because it was inadequately performed. He concluded by asking that careful consideration be given to his statement, and added: "It goes without saying that the principles of the British North America Act will form the basis of the Constitution of any Province created. We seek for no advantages over any other Province, and we do not anticipate that we will be denied any privileges given elsewhere."

Along with this letter he submitted the views of the Executive Council of the Territories, in the form of a draft Bill, in which the several points which he desired to have brought to an issue were duly set forth, with comments upon the principles involved. Time passed without any substantial progress being made, till the last general election was about to be held. Then a letter came, possibly for reasons which any politician in this room will appreciate, stating that action upon the Autonomy matter would be taken at the next Session of Parliament; and that action is now being taken. Let me next follow the historical sketch with a discussion of the main propositions of the Bill.

Mr. Haultain proposed to form into one Province, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca up to the 57th parallel of north latitude. The proposed Province would contain an area of 404,000 square miles. As at present constituted, Quebec has 347,000; Ontario 220,000; and British Columbia 383,000 square miles. His reasons for this proposal were briefly these: That the Legislative Assembly can administer this area; that it can administer it economically; more economically with one set of governmental machinery than with two sets. Two Governors, two Government Houses, two Legislatures, two sets of officials, will more than double the cost of administration. To the argument that the proposed area contains much diversity of soil, climate, etc., he replies that this will be true of any division of this area, and that the Assembly has already met and overcome these difficulties.

Under the Autonomy Bill as brought down by Sir Wilfrid, two Provinces are proposed. Line 60, north latitude, is the northern boundary of British Columbia and Athabasca. The International boundary is the southern boundary of British Columbia, Alberta and Assiniboia. Between these two lines, with British Columbia as western boundary, and the western boundary line of Manitoba continued directly north to the said line 60 as eastern boundary, lies the area included within the two new Provinces. This area is to be divided north and south by the 4th Meridian in the system of Dominion surveys, which lies just a little east of Meridian 110. The new Province of Alberta contains all of the present Alberta, part of Athabasca, and a small section of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. The new Province of Saskatchewan contains the remaining portions of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca. The 4th Meridian, though arbitrary as regards the soil and physical configuration of the country, is a convenient dividing line, giving each province an area in round numbers of 275,000 square miles and a population of 250,000. It also secures to each Province a greater range of temperature and variety of productions than would a line dividing the territory east and west. Regina seems well satisfied with the division, as she remains a capital, and Edmonton, the other provisional capital, is as pleased as Calgary is annoyed.

The formation of these Provinces necessitates the making a provision for expenses of government. Those Provinces originally entering Confederation would not have surrendered their powers of taxation in customs and excise if they had not been granted corresponding sums to defray expenses of local government. Hence arose the payments by the Federal Government of subsidies to the Provincial Assemblies. The annual subsidies to be allowed each new Province may be summarized as follows:

1. For the support of the Government and the Legislature.	$50,000
2. Initial per capita allowance	200,000
(This increases quinquennially till it becomes $640,000.)	
3. Debt allowance	405,375
4. Initial compensation for public lands	375,000
(This increases according to population till it becomes $1,125,000.)	
5. Provision for erection of necessary public buildings	93,750
(Annual payments for five years.)	

Now let us examine these items in detail to understand how each has been determined. (1) By the B. N. A. Act, 1867, Ontario receives annually from Dominion funds for this purpose, $80,000; Quebec $70,000; Nova Scotia $60,000; New Brunswick $50,000; British Columbia $35,000; and Prince Edward Island $30,000. Mr. Haultain asked for $50,000 and it is granted.

(2) When the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New

Brunswick entered Confederation they gave up their general taxing powers to the Federal Government, and their duties and revenues were employed to form a Consolidated Revenue fund. On account of this, each Province receives for local purposes eighty cents per head from the Federal Government, on a maximum population. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and Manitoba are paid upon the results of each decennial Census until a maximum population of 400,000 is attained. Ontario and Quebec are paid this grant on populations respectively of 1,396,091 and 1,111,566; these being their populations as shown by the Census of 1861, and their grants remain permanently fixed. Each of the new Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan are to be paid a per capita allowance on a minimum population of 250,000, increasing quinquennially from 1901 until a maximum population of 800,000 souls is attained—twice that in the Maritime Provinces, and but little over one-half of that in Ontario. I am unable to say what the principle is which imposes such different limits of population; some being limited to 400,000, others to 800,000, and others to over 1,000,000. It would seem reasonable that when these new Provinces have a population equal to those in Ontario and Quebec in 1861, as they assuredly will, they should receive equal financial assistance from the Federal Government.

(3) The Provinces entering Confederation had debts incurred for public improvements, such as roads, railways, canals, needed to develop the resources of the country and to reduce the cost of freight upon articles entering into home consumption. A certain amount of this indebtedness of each Province was assumed by the Federal Government. Taking population into account it was found that the amount of debt so assumed was not equally proportioned. Then fixed amounts, which would be fair and equitable as between the Provinces, were agreed upon. These debt allowances were represented by an allowance of $32.43 per head on the populations mentioned in Section 2. In the event of any Pro-

vince having no debt, or a debt less than that stipulated, it was to receive from the Government of Canada interest at five per cent. on the difference between its actual and its stipulated debt. Each of the new Provinces not having any debt will be thus credited with a debt allowance of $32.43 per head on a population of 250,000, which is $8,107,500. Interest on this at five per cent. gives a yearly sum of $405,375, which is to be considered as an annuity.

(4) Each new Province is credited with 25,000,000 acres of public lands valued at $1.50 per acre, that is $37,500,000. With a population of from 250,000 to 400,000 each receives annually one per cent. on $37,500,000, or $375,000; from 400,000 to 800,000, one and a half per cent., or $562,500; from 800,000 to 1,200,000 two per cent., or $750,000; thereafter three per cent. or $1,125,000. There is also a further compensation, for five years, of one-quarter per cent., or $93,750, to provide for erection of necessary public buildings. (It has since been decided in Committee to grant these sums arbitrarily as an annuity without any basis of calculation being given. This has been done to prevent future disputes as to the acreage and the valuation of these lands.)

The new Provinces would prefer control of their own lands. Mr. Haultain has claimed that these Provinces are entitled to be recognized as the beneficial owners of the Crown domain within their limits, and that the right to administer their own property for themselves is one which should not be taken away without their consent. That is the view of the man who places a higher value upon the rights of his Province to its own than upon the dollars and cents offered in lieu thereof. At first it was the Imperial policy that the public lands in the Colonies were to be held by the Crown as trustees for the inhabitants of the Empire at large, and not for the inhabitants of the particular Province within whose limits any such lands happened to be situate. This was the policy set forth by Lord Durham and Lord Grey, and acted upon in Downing Street. But the practical difficulties in the way proved insurmountable. In the Colonies directly established by Great Britain she surrendered her beneficiary interest in the revenues arising from the public lands for the benefit of the people residing in such Colonies. This was done specifically by the Union Act of 1840, and also in the case of Western Australia in 1890, when the Imperial Act stated that, "the entire management and control of the waste lands shall be vested in the Legislature of the Province."

The right of the Colonies to make the most of their own resources was admitted. As Great Britain has divested herself, for the benefit of her Colonies, of all her proprietary rights to the public domain within those Colonies, so, Mr. Haultain argues, Canada should do in the matter of the public domain within the areas included in the new Provinces. I know that the American practice, as Sir Wilfrid has pointed out, is the opposite one, but I prefer to follow British precedents. Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and British Columbia have control of their own lands, but this control is denied to Manitoba and the new Provinces. The former are, so to speak, constituted Provinces of the first rank; the latter are relegated to a secondary rank. It is highly improbable that in the years to come, when these Provinces have their millions of people, they will submit to the continuance of such conditions. Better terms, that is, equal terms, will inevitably be demanded. Indeed in some of the older Provinces this topic is already thrusting itself into the field of practical politics.

As a reason for the control of these public lands by the Federal Government, it is said that much expense has been incurred in the building up of effective immigration agencies in other lands; that the Dominion can do more to secure immigration than the Province can; and that if these Provinces controlled the public lands they might, by a change of homestead laws or an increase in the price of land, nullify the immigration work of the Dominion authorities. Such action is quite possible, yet though Quebec and Ontario own their public lands they have not taken such action, and what they have not deemed it wise or expedient to do would not, in all probability, be done in the West. These new Provinces are quite as anxious for a vigorous immigration policy, and an added immigration, as the Dominion can possibly be. They want all the immigrants that they can get, but I venture to say that they would be more careful as to the quality of the immigrant than the Dominion has been at times.

Putting aside for the moment the question of policy, I think the cash allowances for lands at the beginning is a liberal one, immediately available, and secured without any of the difficulties connected with local administration of the public domain. When the new Province has 1,200,000 of a population, it will receive its maximum grant from the Dominion. Thereafter the greater its growth the greater its danger of having to resort to direct taxation to meet its growing expenses. Public lands may be conserved and improved and so increase in value as the Province grows older, becoming each year a more valuable source of revenue. On this point I have not sufficient data to warrant a judgment, but I am glad to know that Mr. Bulyea, our Minister of Public Works, has expressed himself as satisfied.

I come now to deal with the Clause respecting education. On this subject one must speak carefully, recognizing that there are honest differences of opinion thereon. Further, what the Leader of a Government may believe ideally right, what he may consider legally just, and what he may deem politically expedient, are not necessarily identical. I think Sir Wilfrid Laurier appreciates the truth of this statement just now. For nearly ten years I was Superintendent of Education in the Territories. At the first I was, so to speak, in the storm belt. My recommendations and my opinions were attacked in language more vigorous at times than courteous; but long before I retired from the Superintendency I had no warmer friends than the teachers and managers of the Separate Schools, and I am proud to say that I still retain their good-will—for we did arrive at working plans mutually satisfactory. Let me read the Clauses respecting Education:

> The provision of Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, shall apply to the said Provinces as if, at the date upon which this Act comes into force, the Territory comprised therein were already a Province, the expression of "the Union" in the said Section being taken to mean the said date. Subject to the provisions of said Section 93 and in continuance of the principle heretofore sanctioned under the North-West Territories Act, it is enacted that the Legislatures of the said Provinces shall pass all necessary laws in respect of Education; and that it shall therein always be provided:
>
> (*a*) That a majority of the ratepayers of any district or portion of said Provinces, or of any portion or sub-division thereof, by whatever name the same is known, may establish such schools therein as they think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor; and
>
> (*b*) That the minority of the ratepayers therein, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish Separate Schools therein and make the necessary assessments and collection of rates therefor; and
>
> (*c*) That in such case the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic Separate Schools shall be liable only to assessment of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof.
>
> In the appropriation of public moneys by the Legislature in aid of education, and in the distribution of any moneys paid to the Government of the Province arising from the school fund established by the Dominion Lands Act, there shall be no discrimination between the Public Schools and the Separate Schools, and such moneys shall be applied to the support of Public and Separate Schools in equitable shares or proportions.

That Clause is intended to fasten forever on the new Provinces a Separate School system, and it goes further. It gives compulsory direction to the Province as to how it's own money shall be apportioned to these schools. This Clause goes beyond anything in the existing North-West Territories Act, and while it may be a necessary step in securing the permanent existence of the Separate School it is an interference with the rights of the Province to administer its own funds, and is not justified by the past actions of the Territorial Legislature in respect of these schools. I have had during the past thirty years control of schools in which pupils meet without regard to their faiths; also Protestant Separate Schools and Roman Catholic Separate Schools, where creed is the basis of admission; and I have not found any of these classes of schools present exceptional difficulties in matters of administration. Yet I am not a believer in the principle of Separate Schools, Protestant or Roman Catholic.

Nor is Sir Wilfrid Laurier a believer in the principles of Separate Schools. He says: "If I were to speak my mind upon Separate Schools I would say that I never could understand what objection there could be a system of schools wherein, after secular matters had been attended to, the tenets of the religion of Christ—even with the divisions which exist among His followers—are allowed to be taught."

The Public School in the Territories to-day is just that type of school exactly. Secular matters are attended to till half-past three o'clock. After that, provision is made for the teaching of religion according to the wishes of any or every sect in the school district. The arrangements are in the hands of the Trustees, the legal representatives of the ratepayers. This public school is not a Protestant school. No distinctive doctrine of Protestantism as such is taught in this school. No distinctive rite of Protestantism as such is practised in this school. It is a school where, to quote Sir Wilfrid again: "Every man can give to his own child the religious tenets which he holds sometimes dearer than life." It is truly a *common* school. That which is common to all is presented to all. That which is special, that which separates, is provided for each creed. Aye and more than that. The school in the West provides a period for the teaching of the mother tongue, whatever it may be, where English is not the vernacular. That does not exist, so far as I am aware, in any other Province of the Dominion. Creed and race problems are thus recognized and solved in a way that is exceedingly satisfactory to the great majority of the people.

The Separate School in the Territories, Catholic or Protestant, is a minority school. Its course of study till three-thirty o'clock is identical with that in the public school. Its text-books, readers in the first two classes excepted, are identical. Its teachers have the same academic standing, have undergone the same professional training, as the teachers in the public school. It is subject to the same inspection and examination. Its pupils often go to the high schools and prepare for academic work, or go to the Normal Schools and take their training side by side with other ladies and gentlemen without regard to their faith or nationality. Sisters (religious), wearing the dress of their order, have attended the Regina High School to prepare for the scholarship examinations for teachers; and for some years these Sisters have attended the Regina Normal School, taking the regular professional course prescribed for teachers of both sexes. It receives Legislative grants on the same basis as the public school.

What then, you will ask, is its characteristic feature, that which differentiates it? I reply, administration and finances; not teaching or substance of instruction. It has three Trustees professing the Roman Catholic or Protestant faith as the case may be. It has probably, though not always, a teacher holding its own creed. The taxes of its ratepayers are devoted to its support. The public school has not infrequently Roman Catholics as members of its school boards, and Roman Catholics as teachers even in districts where the ratepayers are almost wholly Protestants. In the public school it is, so far as the teacher is concerned, not a question of creed, but of character and of pedagogic skill. In the Separate School it is usually a question of creed first, and of character and pedagogic skill afterwards.

In the preparation of this section of the Autonomy Bill it seems to me that some inquiry should have been made in some definite way to ascertain the wishes of the people of the Territories—the people to be affected for all time in this matter. The people of the Territories have had Separate Schools and public schools in receipt of government assistance for twenty-five years. There were at the end of 1904 over 1,200 public school districts erected, and 900 in actual operation. There were nine Roman Catholic and two Protestant Separate Schools in operation. That shows more clearly and effectively than any argument I can offer, than any argument Sir Wilfrid has offered, what the people of the West think of public and Separate Schools respectively; what need there is for, and what feeling there is on behalf of, these latter schools. In six years the public schools have doubled in number, while the Separate Schools have decreased.

The people of the Territories have not been asked in any formal way to express an opinion on this topic. Mr. Haultain consulted them in other matters involved in Autonomy, but on this problem he did not, assuming that under Section 93 of the British North America Act, the Province would have jurisdiction in matters of education. The Dominion Government did not ask their opinion. On such an important matter they have a right to be consulted, a right to have their wishes respected. From what I know of them I do not think they would agree to the introduction of this compulsory measure; though I should not be surprised if the matter were left to them to find the Separate School continued in the new Provinces, not as a matter of compulsion, but as a matter of concession to the beliefs of a very small minority.

Sir Wilfrid's historical sketch is interesting, his quotations from the speeches of George Brown, Edward Blake, Sir John Macdonald, and the rest of them admirable, from the standpoint he has chosen, but they have not convinced me as to the correctness of his position. I have read carefully these statements, and some others of quite different tenor made by those gentlemen when the original question was before the Dominion Parliament, and I have also read contrary statements at a later date by Sir Louis Davies, David Mills, and Alexander Mackenzie. I recall also the discussions which took place over the Clergy Reserves Bill, and I know what happened eventually in that case. What changes the years will bring in the matter of education no one can tell. Who would have said fifty or one hundred years ago that the educational situation in France and Great Britain would be what it is to-day? Is it wise statesmanship thus to tie forever the hands of the West, though opinions may change, new deeds may arise, and new institutions become necessary? He who reads the history of the Clergy Reserves agitation in 1840, its reopening in 1847, the addresses in 1850, the Imperial Bill in 1853, and the Bill in 1854 disposing of the matter finally, can perhaps comfort himself with the thought that when the real need for a change arises the dead hand of no Past can successfully shackle the strong right hand of a living earnest Future.

I do not fail to recognize the exceedingly difficult position in which the Prime Minister of Canada finds himself to-day. We all should recognize it, and try to keep this subject as far apart as we can from purely party considerations. It is too important, too serious a matter to be made a mere shuttlecock between rival political parties. Personally I prefer a common school of the Territorial type, where the children grow up together without distinction of creed or race, with provision made for daily religious training, as it is made there now. As men, as citizens of the State, we meet in affairs commercial, social, and political, without regard to our creeds. Why should our children not do likewise?

In the Territories we have men speaking many different tongues, professing many different creeds. To assimilate these different races, and to secure their cooperation in building up the new West, demands the use of every agency that makes for union. The best way, indeed I think the only truly successful way, is to gather the children of different races, creeds and customs into the common school, and "Canadianize" them. There they will learn English, the language of law and commerce; they will work together, play together, grow up together, sympathize with each other because understanding each other, study together the history of their common country, and learn to understand and appreciate its institutions. Thus taught, though they may enter as Galicians, Doukhobors, or Icelanders, they will come out as Canadians, ready to add to our commercial and industrial success, having too, a sense of civic responsibility and duty, and some adequate conception of the true purpose of life. In the West we have asked for no school that divides us on the basis of our creeds, or that separates us at all, but we do need schools that will unite us. A common school and a common language will produce that homogeneous citizenship so necessary in the development of that greater Canada lying west of the Lakes.

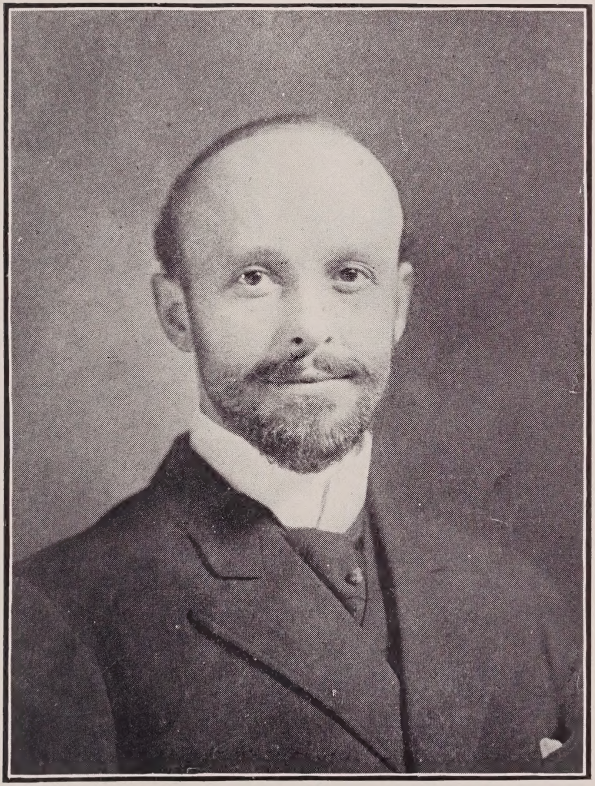
Let there be no compulsion. Let the Dominion say to the new Provinces: "You have treated the minority, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, fairly in the past, and have built up an effective system of schools. We will entrust education to you for the future." If I know anything of the people amongst whom I spent so many years such an appeal would not be made in vain, and minorities will be dealt with justly and even generously.

CANADIANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Address by Mr. S. Morley Wickett, Ph.D., on Thursday, March 2nd, 1905.

One million eight hundred thousand Canadians have moved across the border into the United States during the fifty years ending in 1900. This exodus has been one of the notable facts in Canada's history. For a time it dismayed a large section of the Canadian people and brought them almost to despair of their political future. But the young Dominion is now at length forging ahead by leaps and bounds and is attracting population from Europe as well as from the United States. Its rapid progress is one of the great events in the recent history of the New World. It may, accordingly, be of some interest to look back and review briefly the great Canadian exodus, the localities the emigrants selected for their new homes, the occupations they are following, and their intermarriage with citizens of the United States.

The whole topic of the movement of population is, indeed, instructive. It tells the life story of a people. It is history in a nut-shell; an epitome of conditions. Migrations reflect in a measure the course of affairs at home and in some respects the relations between countries as well. It may be that they are occasioned at times by mistaken notions, by imperfect knowledge. Wholly blind are they, however, rarely; and whatever their causes they offer much to interest and instruct. Those that have taken place in modern times appear to differ from those of centuries ago. In ancient times whole peoples, entire tribes, pushed and pressed from east to west in search of fresh lands. It was in this way that nationalities in Europe were formed. Later on, in the Middle Ages, when life had become more settled, particular



MR. S. MORLEY WICKETT, M.A., PH.D.

classes only wandered widely, knights on crusades or on chivalrous errands, journeymen craftsmen, jugglers and minstrels and merchants. At present, if there is any rule, it is that, irrespective of class, migrations have come to be a matter of private concern. We see individuals and single families changing their homes. A great variety of motives are operative; but through all runs one common characteristic—the desire to secure a better market for abilities. The nation of origin loses a certain amount of energy which would have been spent in developing its resources; the individual gains what he regards as a better chance.

Levasseur, the French geographer and economist, has attempted to formulate a law of migration. He points out that, as in the world of matter, the bigger the mass the greater the force of attraction. This is only another way of saying that people flock to the cities and generally seek out the largest market for their labour. This law, if law it may be called, must be stated guardedly; since a densely populated country, for instance, may more often repel than attract. It will suffice to say, perhaps, simply that migration is the attempt to adjust population to opportunity—a process of adaptation, a phase of industrialism.

Geographical influence on shiftings of population must not be lost sight of. Climate counts. Though the point has not yet been proven there is much to support the view that apart from economic considerations Northern peoples tend to be more mobile than Southern. Not that winter drives the Northerner into exile. If one enjoys a fair measure of health few delights are keener than the feelings of exhilaration, and the sports of a Northern, let us say, an average Canadian winter. The tingling climate and the stimulating procession of the seasons spur one into habits of vigorous action. As for Canadians, travellers tell us they find a sprinkling on every Continent. In England and Wales, for instance, there are nearly 19,000; in Australia over 3,000; nearly

1,500 in New Zealand; and in Alaska 2,000 more. The migration of Canadians to the more developed market of the United States is of two kinds, temporary and permanent; the one shading imperceptibly into the other. Temporary migrations fell away sharply with the coming of settled industrial conditions in the Republic; but in spite of "Alien Labour" laws they are still important along the border, and in such centres as New York, Boston, Pittsburg, Chicago and San Francisco.

In 1900 there were 10,356,644 foreigners who had taken up domicile in the United States. Of that 1,181,255, or 11·4 per cent., were Canadian-born. Out of this number 785,958 were English, and 395,297 French Canadians. By "Canadian" the Census always means "Born either in Canada or Newfoundland." In estimating the number of Canadians we must take into account that many British-born Canadians after living in Canada for a number of years, have moved South and been enumerated there as British, not as Canadians. One may hazard the opinion that their number is one-eighth that of the Canadian-born, English-speaking immigrants, *i.e.*, 100,000. With 450,000 children born in the United States of these Canadian parents the total thus becomes 1,731,000 —995,000 (57 per cent.) being English, and 736,000 (43 per cent.), French-Canadians. (To allow a contrast with these percentages it is to be noted that in Canada the French Canadians form 30·7 per cent. of the total population.) There is still another group of 813,350 who have one Canadian-born parent. But in fairness these cannot be called Canadians and may therefore be left out of count. An allowance, however, will have to be made for the many other Canadians by birth, who prefer to report themselves as British and are enumerated as such. They bring the grand total up to at least 1,800,000* Canadians at present living in the United States—

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* If we include those with one Canadian parent the sum total would be upwards of 2,600,000, one million of these being French, the balance "English," Canadians.

that is one-third of the population of the Dominion as it stood in 1901.

We may go further still and by using ordinary mortality tables calculate the number who have probably left the country during the past fifty years. This we find to be 1,800,000; or if we add the 450,000 children, a grand total of 2,250,000 for the half century. One and three-quarter, or more, millions of these were lost directly, the balance through immediate natural increase. Of the 2,200,000 the "English" make up roughly 1,200,000, and the French 1,000,000. Every adult costs his native country at least $1,000 to nourish and educate. Canada may in this way be said to have invested in the American Republic one thousand times the number of exported Canadians, or a living capital assessable at $1,650,000,000 (after making allowance for the 100,000 British)—a sufficiently severe drain on a young nation. This enormous loss Canada has withstood and been at the same time steadily carrying on extensive public works. It makes one marvel at the recuperative power of young, fertile countries. The loss amounts to half Sir Robert Giffen's estimate of the crushing burden placed on France by the Prussian War. There is a contra account, of course, for imported Republicans. The Canadian Census of 1901 places their number at 127,899. At $1,000 per head this means $128,000,000, or, with an additional allowance of one-third for the years back to 1850, $170,000,000, which is about 10 per cent. of the Canadian loss. During the half century about one and one-quarter million British settlers crossed the water to Canada. It is this and other European immigration, together with the natural increase, that has enabled Canada to show a slight growth in population from decade to decade.

The continuity of the Canadian migration is remarkable. In the number of Canadians by birth the United States Census takings show periodical increases for the previous 10 years: in 1860 of 102,259; in 1870 of 243,494; in 1880 of 223,693; in 1890 of 263,781; and in 1900 of 200,317. The largest exodus seems to have occurred therefore during the ten years 1880-90, or perhaps more precisely, 1875-85. The steady influx of Canadians has resulted in Canadians constituting a growing percentage of the whole body of foreigners. In 1850, 6·6 of all foreigners were Canadians; in 1860, 6 per cent.; in 1870, 8·9 per cent.; in 1880, 10·7 per cent.; in 1890, 10·6 per cent.; and in 1900, 11·4 per cent. This constant increase is paralleled by the Scandinavians only. An illustration may be given. Between 1850 and 1900 the German percentage amongst the foreign-born fell slightly from 26 to 25·8 per cent.; the Irish from 42·8 to 15·6 per cent.; the British from 16·8 to 11·3 per cent.; but the Scandinavian jumped from 9 to 10·3 per cent.; and the Canadian from 6·6 to 11·4 per cent. The relative increase of Canadians, even between 1890 and 1900, was marked, as the following table shows:

CANADIANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

	1890.	1900.	No.	Increase per cent.
English Canadians	678,442	785,958	107,516	15·8
French Canadians	302,496	395,297	92,801	30·7
Total..................	980,938	1,181,255	200,317	20·4
Swedes (next highest)..........	478,041	573,040	94,999	19·7
Foreigners generally..........	9,249,547	10,356,644	1,107,097	12·0

The United States immigration statistics give only 3,064 Canadians as settling in that country between 1891-1900; but the Census returns show these figures to be entirely astray. In fact the insuperable difficulties in the way of counting people who enter the States by way of Canada make the United States annual returns of Canadian immigrants unreliable, and of late years the attempt to compile them has been abandoned. The official immigration figures may be worth giving, however, for purposes of comparison with other nationalities:

IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

	1821-1900	%	1891-1900	%	1881-1890	%
Aggregate	19,115,221	100	3,687,564	100	5,246,613	100
Canada and Newf'land	1,049,939	.....	3,064	·1	392,802	7·5
Ireland	3,871,253	.....	390,179	10·6	655,482	12·5
Great Britain	3,024,222	.....	270,019	7·3	807,357	15·4
Germany	5,009,280	.....	505,152	13·7	1,452,970	27·7

	1871-1880	%	1861-1870	%	1851-1860	%
Aggregate	2,812,191	100	2,314,824	100	2,598,214	100
Canada and Newf'land	383,269	13·6	153,871	6·7	59,309	2·3
Ireland	436,871	15·5	435,778	18·8	914,119	35·2
Great Britain	548,043	19·5	606,896	26·2	423,974	16·3
Germany	718,182	25·6	787,468	34·0	951,667	36·6

And now as to the localities that Canadians have chosen for their new homes. Of the English Canadians 88 per cent. are divided equally between the North Atlantic and the North Central States, 10 per cent. are in the West, 2 per cent. in the South. The North Atlantic section will include a large number of "Blue Noses" (Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers); though as Mark Twain hints with his "Wise old Nova Scotian owl" in *Tramp Abroad,* many a Nova Scotian miner is to be found in the mining camps of the West. Of the French Canadians, 77 per cent. live along the Atlantic; nearly three-fourths of these being found in seven cities —Manchester, N.H.; Fall River, Holyoke, Lowell, New Bedford, Worcester and Lawrence, Mass. Upwards of 20 per cent. are in the North Central States, less than 3 per cent. in the West, and less than 1 per cent. in the South. The small percentages of Canadians in the Southern States (2 per cent. of the "English," 1 per cent. of the French), hardly does justice to the cordiality between Southerners and Canadians which dates from the time of the Civil War.

It is usually taken for granted that most Canadians go to the great commercial centres. The reverse is the case. Over half are to be found in the country and in the smaller towns. Only 40 per cent. of the English and 37.7 per cent. of the French Canadians live in the 160 largest cities, that is in cities with 25,000 or more population. I give here a selection of cities that have the largest Canadian constituencies. But, as already pointed out, the British Canadian and pure Canadian stock would probably raise the number in each city fifty per cent.

CANADIANS IN CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1900.

NAME OF CITY.	ENGLISH CANADIANS.		FRENCH CANADIANS.		Total of Canadians.	Estimated No. of pure Canadian Stock.
	Number.	Being per cent. of Foreigners	Number.	Being per cent. of Foreigners		
Boston	47,374	24.0	2,908	1.5	50,282	70,000
Cambridge	9,613	31.5	1,483	4.9	11,096	16,000
Chicago	29,472	5.0	5,307	.9	34,779	55,000
Detroit	25,403	26.3	3,541	3.7	28,944	45,000
Buffalo	16,509	15.8	733	.7	17,242	30,000
New York	19,399	1.5	2,527	.2	21,926	38,000
Jersey City	907	1.6	134	.2	1,041	1,500
Newark	802	1.1	160	.2	962	1,300
Paterson	385	1.0	174	.5	559	800
Cleveland	7,839	6.3	772	.6	8,611	12,000
Philadelphia	2,989	1.0	294	.1	3,283	5,000
Cincinnati	928	1.6	103	.2	1,031	1,500
Rochester	7,746	19.0	553	1.4	8,299	12,000
Lowell	4,485	11.0	14,674	35.8	19,159	30,000
Worcester	3,163	8.4	5,204	13.8	8,367	12,000
Fall River	2,329	4.6	20,172	40.3	22,501	33,000
Providence	3,882	6.9	3,850	6.9	7,732	11,000
New Haven	754	2.4	416	1.3	1,170	1,700
Minneapolis	5,637	9.2	1,706	2.8	7,343	11,000
St. Paul	3,557	7.6	1,015	2.2	4,572	6,800
Milwaukee	1,687	1.9	217	.2	1,904	2,800
St. Louis	2,151	1.9	339	.3	2,490	3,600
Pittsburg	994	1.2	79	.1	1,073	1,500
Washington, D.C.	809	4.0	97	.5	906	1,300
New Orleans	310	1.0	85	.3	385	600
Louisville	365	1.7	45	.2	410	600
San Francisco	4,770	4.1	429	.4	5,199	8,000

The Census accounts for 367,170 Canadian families, 207,580 of these being "English," and 159,590 French. Twenty-four per cent. of the one and 16 per cent. of the other live in farm homes, which shows the bucolic life of a large section of the Canadian immigrants. This is a remarkable fact when one considers that Canada is itself so largely an agricultural country. On the whole, if we contrast the two Canadian races, there are proportionately more French Canadians in the smaller towns and proportionately more "English" Canadians carrying on farming or living in the large cities.

The marriages of Canadian immigrants show interesting variations. Most of the English-speaking Canadians "cross the line" unmarried and after establishing themselves take wives from among their new acquaintances. The majority of the French Canadians migrate after marrying or marry one of their own race in the United States. This is evident from the fact that three-fourths of the 812,350 children, one of whose parents is a Canadian, have "English" Canadian parents. Grouping all Canadians of the present generation together, 48·1 per cent. have married in the United States. This is a large proportion as compared with other nationalities. For example, only 36 per cent. of the English marry in the United States; 35 per cent. of the French, and 32 per cent. of the Scotch. The Canadians, in the great majority of instances, when they do not marry native Americans, marry people of British extraction.

It is worth noting that in 1900 as many as 90·8 per cent. of the English Canadians had become naturalized and 84 per cent. of the French Canadians. A student of the French Canadians in New England, writing in 1898, comes to the conclusion that the French Canadians in New England are gradually losing their identity and coalescing with other nationalities—especially the Irish. The birth rate among them is lower than in Quebec; child mortality, especially up to five years, remains high; immigration has greatly declined; and solicited immigration ceased altogether. The influence of industrial life and of free public schools is doing the rest.

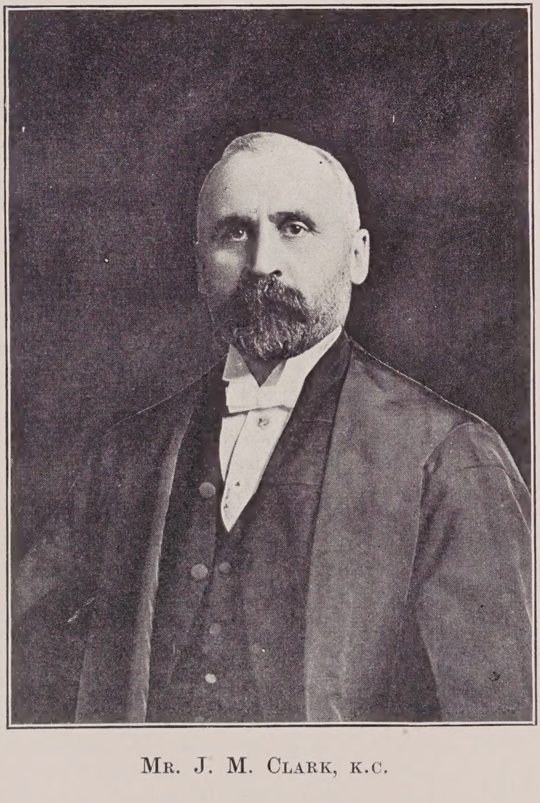
THE TREATY-MAKING POWER.

Address by Mr. J. M. Clark, M.A., LL.B., K.C., on March 23rd, 1905.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I must acknowledge the honour done me by your Executive Committee in asking me to address the Club again. The Treaty-making power is a large and important matter of very special interest to Canada at the present stage of her national development but in the course of half an hour only a few features of the subject can be dealt with. By the way permit me to remark that the words "national" and "nation" which are used so frequently nowadays are exceedingly ambiguous expressions and that this ambiguity gives rise to a great deal of confusion of thought. The word "nation" means in a broad sense a race of people and primarily signifies an aggregation of persons of the same ethnic family and speaking the same language. On the other hand in International Law the word nation is used to denote a sovereign state.

In whatever sense it may be said that Canada is a nation it is certainly not true in either of the senses above referred to. If Canada were a nation in the sense in which the word is used in International Law then we would possess the full Treaty-making power. Indeed the possession of such a power is involved in the very idea of territorial sovereignty. In that sense Canada is certainly not a nation and it is, therefore, necessary to inquire where the Treaty-making power now lies. By the British North America Act (as our Canadian Constitution was officially entitled by the far-sighted Fathers of Confederation who contemplated that Canada should eventually comprise the whole of British North America including Newfoundland) the Executive Government and authority of and over Canada were declared to continue to be vested in the Crown. This was in accord-



Mr. J. M. Clark, K.C.

ance with the expressed desire of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom.

By that constitution the Executive authority is vested in the Crown. Theoretically Blackstone was correct when he said: " It is also the King's prerogative to make treaties, leagues and alliances with foreign states and princes. For it is by the law of nations essential to the goodness of a league that it be made by the sovereign power and then it is binding upon the whole community and in England the sovereign power, *quo ad hoc,* is vested in the person of the King. Whatever contracts, therefore, he engages in no other power in the Kingdom can legally delay, resist or annul." Practically, however, this doctrine is subject to many limitations which there is not time to discuss exhaustively. In many cases in order that a treaty may be carried into effect and enforced, legislation by Parliament is necessary. Many examples, such as Extradition Treaties, will at once occur to your minds. As an instance of a treaty not being carried into effect owing to the absence of necessary legislation to enforce it, we may refer to the Treaty, or Convention (to which Great Britain and the United States became parties), for the protection of trade marks. The Treaty provided in effect for the recognition in Great Britain of the trade marks duly protected in the United States. The British Statute on the subject—The Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act—required as a condition of the registration of a trade mark that it must comply with the British definition. There was, therefore, a direct conflict between the Treaty and the Statute and when the matter came before the Courts it was held that the latter must govern.

The question was distinctly raised in the case arising out of the Treaty or agreement between France and Great Britain for a *modus vivendi* in regard to the Newfoundland Fisheries. Captain Walker, of H. M. S. *Emerald,* was instructed by the Lords Commissioner of the Admiralty to take the necessary steps to enforce this Treaty and in pursuance of his instructions took possession of the famous lobster factory which Mr. Baird had put up in Newfoundland in violation of the terms of the *modus vivendi.* Mr. Baird appealed to the Courts and the Supreme Court of Newfoundland held that it was no answer to his action for the Captain to say that he acted under the orders of the Crown in enforcing the Treaty with France and that the Courts could not inquire into such matters of State. This decision was affirmed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. (Walker *v.* Baird, 1892, A.C. 491.)

It followed that in order that this Treaty might be enforced so as to affect the private rights of subjects an Act of Parliament was necessary. At first the Newfoundland Legislature refused to pass such an Act and a Bill for the purpose of enforcing the Treaty was introduced into the British Parliament. Before, however, this Bill received its second reading in the British House of Commons the necessary legislation was undertaken in Newfoundland and though the Newfoundland Legislative Assembly limited the time for enforcing the *modus vivendi* to two years the Bill in the British Parliament was dropped. In view of the principle so illustrated a great many Treaties are subject to the implied condition that the necessary legislation be passed. In some cases there is an express stipulation that a proposed Treaty shall not take effect until adopted by Parliament.

For instance, when Heligoland was ceded in 1890 to Germany the cession was expressly made conditional on the approval of the British Parliament which was subsequently given by 53 & 54 Vict. ch. 32. Another instance of greater interest to us as Canadians was the Treaty of Washington, 1873, which, so far as it specially affected Canada, was expressly made subject to the approval of the Canadian Parliament as well as to the approval of the Imperial Parliament and the Congress of the United States. It may be interesting to compare the British Constitution which vests the Treaty-making power in the Crown with the constitution of the United

States under which the President has power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. Such Treaties are by the United States Constitution declared to be the supreme law of the land and the Judges in every State are declared to be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

While the British Constitution vests the Treaty-making power in the Crown as the delegate and representative of the people, yet it must be borne in mind that this power, like most of the other Royal prerogatives, must now be exercised by or on the advice of responsible Ministers of the Crown. The true way of putting the matter, therefore, is that the Treaty-making power really rests in the Imperial Government which is responsible only to the people of Great Britain and Ireland. While this is so Canada is, as a matter of fact, always consulted where the special interests of Canada are concerned and in this indirect way the voice of Canada is becoming more and more potent. The advance made in the last thirty years may be indicated by contrasting the composition of the Commission which negotiated the Treaty of Washington with that of the Commission appointed a few years ago and still in existence to settle differences between Canada and the United States. Then Canada was represented by one of five Commissioners. In this case all the Commissioners except one, the late Lord Herschel, were Canadians.

Whatever may be said as to the attitude of the British Commissioners in the previous negotiations we know that in the case of the latter Commission the British Commissioner (if we may use this expression to indicate the special representative of the Imperial Government), exerted to the utmost his great force and ability to press the Canadian claims and urge the Canadian contentions. As another illustration of the increasing influence of Canada in these matters I may refer to the fact that the Bond-Blaine Treaty between Newfoundland and the United States was vetoed by the Imperial Government at the instance of Canada.

The denunciation of the German and Belgian Treaties affords even a more striking example. They prevented the establishment of a system of Preferential Trade within the British Empire and were terminated at the request of this country. Those Treaties were made without the consent of Canada and bound us if we gave a preference to Great Britain also to give a similar preference to Germany and Belgium whether we wished to do so or not. Such a Treaty would not at the present day be made binding on Canada without our consent. Indeed, in 1878, Canada obtained from the Imperial Government a pledge that in future no commercial treaty would be made binding on this country until Canada assented to it. But, it is said, why cannot Canada obtain the full power to make her own Treaties? To this I say that the Treaty-making power is one of the most characteristic attributes of a Sovereign State. For us to claim full Treaty-making power is, therefore, necessarily to claim independence. I shall not attempt to discuss the question of Canadian Independence but may be permitted to say that it would simply be a step—in my judgment, a very short step—to annexation to the United States. Alexander Hamilton's advice to the people of the United States that they should think continentally would be speedily followed. Furthermore under the Monroe Doctrine, as now extended, the United States claim a hegemony over this continent. As Canada was part of the British Empire before the United States came into existence as a nation this Monroe Doctrine cannot now be applied to us. Should, however, Canada become independent we would at once become subject to the claim of over-lordship by the United States. This is a point which deserves more consideration than it has yet received from the advocates of Canadian Independence.

I must not be understood as saying that the present position of the Treaty-making power is a satisfactory one, for it is not. The problem is, of course, a difficult one, but it is one well worth solving. The British Empire, which has been justly characterized as the greatest secular agency for good which the world knows, is well worth preserving, and its preservation obviously depends on the satisfactory solution of this problem. While the difficulties of the problem are formidable they are not insuperable. The British Constitution, whose development is so gloriously associated with the cause of liberty and justice, is capable of further evolution. On a careful consideration of this subject one cannot fail to perceive two distinct tendencies, apparently, though not in reality, diverse. One is in the direction of a local self-government which in my opinion does not tend to separation as was at one time feared, but on the contrary is an absolutely indispensable condition of Imperial Unity. Indeed we may properly describe local self-government as the veritable sheet-anchor of the British Empire.

The other tendency is towards the evolution of an Imperial organization to deal with purely Imperial affairs. This is also a necessary condition of the permanent solidarity of the British Empire. As a step in this development one may refer to the fact that a responsible member of the Canadian Cabinet is a member of the Imperial Defence Committee. As another and very important step we may refer to the system of Imperial Conferences which now may be regarded as a permanent feature of Imperial polity. There is not time to discuss what form this Imperial organization will take, but one thing is certain that to be permanent it must put Canadians on a footing of absolute equality with Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen. We do not want to interfere in their local affairs and shall insist on managing ourselves our own local affairs. In the management of the common affairs of the Empire Canadians must have an equal voice. I hope Canadians will never cease to

"claim
A part in the glory and pride and aim
Of the Empire that girdles the world."

While we as Canadians rightly claim the full rights and privileges of British citizenship we must also face the corresponding and inevitable responsibilities and duties.

CANADIANS IN THE IMPERIAL MILITARY SERVICE.

Address by Lieut.-General F. W. Benson, C.B., on Thursday, April 6th, 1905.

Colonel Mason, Gentlemen and Members of the Empire Club,—

I need hardly say that I wish I had sufficient powers of oratory to convey to you the feelings of pride and pleasure which have been allowed me at being honoured with your invitation to-day. As Colonel Mason has said I only had a short notice, but the subject fortunately is not one in which politics enters; otherwise I think I should have been obliged to say that we soldiers are not supposed to be able to speak. That is to say, we are not encouraged to speak. We do not get many opportunities and when we do get opportunities we have to be very careful what we say because it might be misconstrued. However, this is a subject I do not think I need be afraid of. I cannot claim any special distinction over others of my fellow-countrymen who have earned honour and distinction, I am sure, in every country that they have gone to and in every profession and industry in life. We only, after all, follow in each other's footsteps.

I had before me an example in Major-General C. W. Robinson of this town who, as you all know, is a very distinguished officer. His career was always before me. He was an Upper Canada College boy and so was I. He went to the Staff College and I went to the Staff College. He has filled most of the responsible positions on the staff in the field, and was raised to the rank of Major-General, and was caught in a way in which most of us must be caught if we live long enough and that is by the age clause. I myself will suffer in a few years from it. However, I am thankful to say as regards General Robinson that his services to the country are not lost because even in his retirement he is taking the greatest interest in everything that concerns Canada and this town and the Empire. I may say, generally, that he is a prominent member of the Royal Colonial Institute and on the Council of it in London. He is always glad to see Canadians just as he always was to help them when he was in the Service. He is a very old friend of mine; he often gave me excellent advice and, when he could, all the help that was in his power.

There are many other gentlemen, as you know, who have gone from Canada and who have entered the Imperial Service. It is impossible to enumerate them all and therefore, if I leave out the friends or relatives or any who may be here to-day it is simply because it would be impossible for me, as they now number hundreds, where in my day they numbered only a few, to tell you much about them.

In 1867 when I went as a cadet to Sandhurst there were only three Canadians among the 300 Cadets. The others beside myself were Alan Cameron and Alec Gzowski. In those days I think you could easily count the number of Canadians in the Army and their names were well known from Quebec to Lake Huron. Your own town was well represented by Gamble, Grasett, and others and the Niagara District with Merritt, the two Dicksons, and Burns; those are names that come to my mind at the moment, but of course there are many others, who will forgive my not calling them to mind on the spur of the moment. In *these* days I doubt if there is a single Battalion of Infantry that has not had a Canadian through its officers' ranks. We have many representatives in the Artillery and Engineers and a few in the Cavalry.

I will tell you of a few that I have met, and principally in South Africa. While I was Chief Staff Officer to General Kelly-Kenny on the line of communication at Bloemfontein we wanted an armoured train very much, that is to say, that could be constantly on the move up and down the line to prevent its being cut. We wanted an officer who had any amount of go, energy, iron constitution, resources, independence—everything you may say, and we found it in Major, now Colonel, Nanton of the Royal Engineers who went from the Kingston Military College. I can say that his work was of the most useful character and to us of the greatest possible assistance in keeping our line clear. He was a terror to the Boers in the way of line cutting. He and his quick-firing twelve-pounder, with his engine attached, went up and down all hours of the day and night. The moment they heard of him coming they were off. I think he once got it off and that was about all. However, it was the moral effect of it which helped us in that very arduous duty which we had of preventing the lines from being cut here and there and the delay of food and other articles for Lord Roberts' advance further north.

Later on in the war Sir Archibald Hunter came to relieve General Kelly-Kenny. The Division was broken up and he was going home. General Hunter came to Bloemfontein and with him as Intelligence Officer was another Canadian, Colonel George Kirkpatrick, a name I think that is familiar to this Club and to all good citizens of Canada. I remember his father well and it is a great pleasure to me to mention his name. It seems to me that Toronto contributes largely to the officers that I have met. Another one is Colonel MacInnes who is well known here in Toronto, who has many relatives, who also distinguished himself. Another one that I came across was Major Dobell, grandson of Sir David Macpherson. He distinguished himself in the Mounted Infantry and received the Distinguished Service Order and is an officer of great promise and you will hear more of him later on. There was also Major Morris, another name well known here, a Toronto family name. He was with Thorneycroft as his Staff Officer all through the troublesome times and the dark days of Colenso and the operations in the town. These are only a few of the names.

Sir Percy Girouard's name is well known to you all and his ability and the high position he has always taken whenever he has been called upon to serve his country in any capacity. There are a great many others who are following in the footsteps of ourselves who will rise to higher rank and I have no doubt that you will hear a great deal from them in a few years to come. They are all working their way up steadily. Many of them have gone through the Staff College, all of them, I am sure, imbued with the same feeling that I and others have had before me, and that is that we are watched by our friends out here, that our movements are watched with interest, that our successes are shared, we may say, by those who wish us every prosperity in the career we have chosen. It is that, Gentlemen, that I think keeps us on the go. There is something about a Canadian which I think gives him a start by a good many yards when he enters the British Army. As a rule constitutionally they seem to be fitted, like most men born in northern climates, for almost any climate or any change of climate. They are always better in India or the tropical climates. I don't know why but it is a curious fact that I think you will find they do stand the climate better than most other people. There is another point about them and that is the early education that they receive in Canada. Their minds are enlarged, they have no contracted, narrow ideas. Not that I am going to run down our Old Country, but still I mean the boys, taking them age for age, when they come out of Canada they really start two or three years ahead of the boys of the same age over on the other side.

Gentlemen, I wish that I had been better prepared with more detail regarding our officers in the Imperial Service that have come from Canada, but you know many of them yourselves and hear from them. You must remember that in our Service we are scattered so much. We will say that I am in the north of India. There may be a hundred or more officers from my own country serving in India that I may never come across during the whole of that time. I hear of them principally through their own country and reading accounts of them in our own papers. Before I conclude what is necessarily a short address, I am going to allude to an officer who is here with me to-day, who is your guest as well, and that is Colonel Bridge. He is in my Department of the Army, and something more, he is almost

Canadian-born. You may not know it but he was born in St. John's, Newfoundland, where his father was Rector in the Cathedral, I believe, that stands there at the present day. So that I think you will admit he has something to do with us as well and I am very glad that Colonel Mason and you, Gentlemen, asked him to be present to-day. I will say a little more about him and that is, in the South African war I think that if Colonel Bridge had not been in Cape Town there might have been no provisions in Ladysmith. He was the officer, I always feel who in his position there hurried everything. He foresaw the necessity of it and with his foresight and prudence, which he at all times exercised, he pushed everything around to the Natal side so that the officers in the Army service there should have it available; and therefore he performed great service and I feel very proud of him.

There are others that might be mentioned but I think you must excuse me as being, what shall I say, not a very ready speaker; that is to say I have not had the practice that would enable me suddenly to command the language which I believe I might have if I stayed here much longer, because I think I have spoken more in the last three or four days than in the past six and thirty years of my service and I really believe that if I went on and had a little more practice that I would become quite an orator. Whether I would be able to open my mouth without putting my foot in it I don't know, but still I hope that there is nothing that I have said to-day that can be construed in any other way than that I feel highly honoured by this invitation. My sympathy is entirely with you in every way. I think that we who go abroad are the links of the Empire. We try to give information; we try to let those who live in the darkness know a little of the light which we have in this country and I think we succeed. However, I am sure you will find that all of us who are serving in the Imperial Army are of one mind as regards the future of our country. I will not express my exact opinion about it but you have my best wishes.

The Chairman called upon Colonel Bridge, C.B., C.M.G., who said:

Colonel Mason and Members of the Empire Club,—

I have been, to my utter astonishment, dragged from dignified or rather undignified obscurity to address you. I always thought that when the head of the firm made his remarks that the tail might lie low. However, as I have to say a few words I must take this opportunity of thanking the gentlemen in Toronto for the cordial reception they have given me and the kindness and hospitality they have extended to me. I believe the objects of this Club are those of binding together the Empire and its dependencies. What has struck me most in Toronto is the extraordinary size of the place, the marvellous go-aheadedness of it, the huge buildings, the bustling streets, in fact so much have I been struck with it that I believe I have solved the question for which this Club was formed. I believe if we had a rule that every member of Parliament was to graduate by a visit to Canada, commencing or ending with Toronto, that we should hear very little about any weakening of the bonds which bind the Mother Country to its dependencies. I think if they came here and saw men with intellects as clear as the northern atmosphere, with energy as unbounded as these vast territories which they still have to subdue to their use; that we should hear very little of the differences of opinion that might end too disastrously for me to mention. I believe it has always been in all history a fact which has come out clearly and that is when an old country loses its elder children that country feels the loss and runs great risk and danger of sinking very low in the scale of nations. Gentlemen, I am afraid I am no orator and I have very little else to say except to thank you and to say what an immense pleasure to me my visit has been.

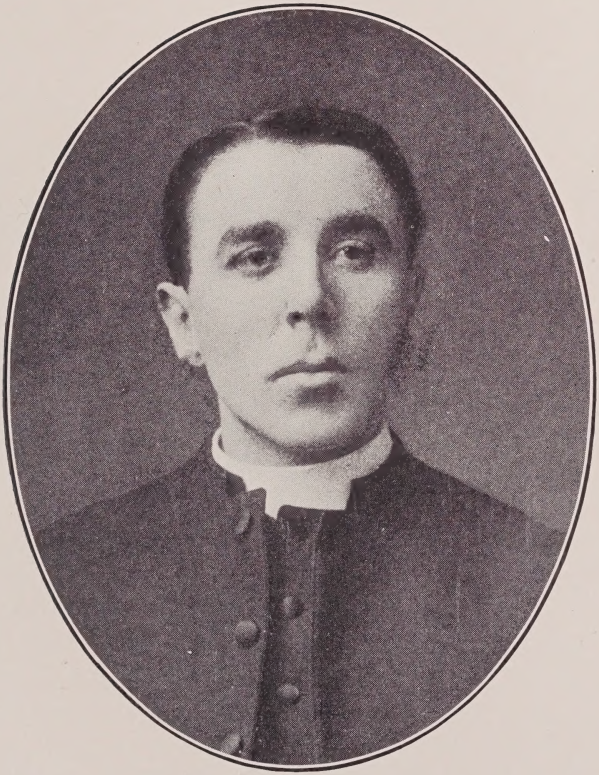
OCCIDENTAL JAPAN.

Address by the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, M.A., Missionary in Japan, on Thursday, April 13th, 1905.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

There are few, I suppose, who are not to some extent interested in the Empire of Japan. Her achievements in this War have called forth our admiration, but we have also been attracted by the marvelous changes that have taken place in that country during the past forty years. It is my purpose to-day to try to show in some way how far Japan has become Occidental and how far she remains Oriental. It will be impossible to do this fully but we may look at some indications of this change from the East to the West. In the past it has been our custom to think of Japan as an oriental nation. We have classed her with China. We think of the two peoples as being very much alike and certainly, superficially, they look much alike. Their complexion, their hair, their physique, to some extent is similar, but when you examine the history of the two nations you find that there has been little racial connection between them.

In fact if we go back, back through the ages, we find that there is no historical record of any racial connection between China and Japan. It seems to me to be the greatest exaggeration when people flippantly talk about the Yellow Race. Certainly Japan has had some racial connection, perhaps before the dawn of history, with China. Her physique will indicate that. But she is also connected with the Malay races to the south of her; and her connection with China has been not chiefly a racial one; she has in the past owed much to that country; she derived her ancient civilization from the Continent of Asia. From about the sixth century onward Chinese civilization began to pour into Japan. Chinese art was copied but improved upon. The Japanese then as to-day do not adopt things wholesale; they adapt them to suit



REV. EGERTON RYERSON, B.A.,
Of Tokio, Japan.

their own circumstances. Chinese learning was adopted; the Chinese method of writing was adopted and is used still to-day. The Chinese method of writing is rather complicated. They have no alphabet. Each idea is represented by a sign, and as they have a good many ideas they require a good many signs; in fact there are some Chinese dictionaries which claim to have as many as 40,000 characters, but it is said that with a knowledge of about four or five thousand one can get along very well. Japan still employs these characters in her writing. The newspapers use them. The setting up of type in a newspaper office in Japan is rather a difficult process. Small boys are employed to run about the room and collect the type.

Why has not Japan discarded this? Because it is intrinsically connected with their language. With the Chinese characters came Chinese words and these Chinese words are used in the book language of Japan. The written language is different from the spoken language, and it is impossible to write the written language with our characters. An attempt was made to introduce our Roman characters. Some years ago a Society was formed for that purpose, but it was found to be impracticable. A Japanese in hearing the book language read would not be able to understand it; he must see the characters. In fact even in conversation it is not uncommon to see a man explain some word he has used by writing it on his hand. Japan, then, has been unable to discard this cumbrous method of writing, but gradually the spoken language is being used more in books and in newspapers. The reason why it is not used altogether is, in addition to natural conservatism, such as makes us continue to use a cumbrous method of spelling, the written language is briefer than the spoken language, and naturally when they can write in a sort of shorthand they do not wait to use the longer forms. Together with writing came Chinese literature and in the past the youth of Japan was brought up in Chinese Classics. These have not been altogether discarded to-day; they are taught in the schools of Japan; but gradually they are being put aside. As

Western learning is coming in there is no room for the old Chinese learning and so it is going to the wall. It is said that the schools of Japan to-day have too much in their curricula, it is overloaded, and so it will be necessary to cut it down, and when that cutting down is done it will be the cutting away of Chinese literature.

Japan still continues to keep up the old customs and old methods of living. We hear a great deal about the New Japan and the new civilization that has been adopted but when one goes out into the country one sees people living much as their ancestors lived; their houses are the same; the same straw mats on the floor and the same paper windows; the food the people use is largely the same; in all these cases, though, there is a tendency to adopt things from the West, especially among the wealthier people. Among the wealthy people in the Capital and in some of the large cities some of the houses are built half in Japanese style and half in Western style. I remember visiting the Governor of one of the Provinces and being received in his foreign room. I must say it was not an attractive room, with a round table in the centre and chairs set stiffly on each side, and as one looked through the picturesque Japanese rooms beyond one rather wished one could go in and sit on the floor and be received in pure Japanese style. The Japanese also are to some extent adopting Western food. Bread is being used more than it was in the past and at the Osaka Exhibition Canada had a very good exhibit of flour. Canadian flour ought to be more exported to Japan. Most of the flour used in that country comes from the United States but there is no reason why we should not send them flour from our own country; and in fact the splendid exhibit at the Osaka Exhibition has done much to stimulate the trade in flour with our own country.

The Japanese as a whole still wear their own dress. The women, especially, have been conservative in this respect. At Court, however, both the men and women wear foreign clothes. The Marquis Ito was anxious to have foreign clothes introduced into the country and for a good reason. He said that the Japanese would not be received in Western courts and considered to be on a level with Western people if they did wear their native dress. We think so much of clothes. The men among the lower classes wear their own clothes but among business classes the men have largely adopted our clothes. The reason is that they are more convenient. The Japanese clothes with the narrow skirt (that is, the clothes of a gentleman) are not convenient for the rush of modern business life, so they have been discarded for Western clothes; and boys in the schools from the age of fourteen upwards wear a uniform with short jacket and trousers. In Tokio an attempt is being made to introduce Western dress among the girls in the schools. There are some schools where it is a rule that the girls must wear our shoes and stockings and some schools also have a rule that they must wear hats. But still, on the whole, Japan looks much as it looked in the past and the customs are much as they were in the past.

Yet she has adopted Western civilization. Forty years ago when the leaders of the country came to the conclusion that it would be impossible to keep the West out, they determined to compete with the West by adopting Western ideas and methods and so they sent Embassies to different countries and examined the ways of life in the various countries of the world, methods of government and so on, and they have based their modern Japan upon what they have found in the West. The Navy is based upon that of England; their Army is based upon that of Germany; their law is based upon that of France; their Government is largely German as well as the police; their postal system is like that of the United States, only better. In fact the postal system is as good as anywhere in the world. There is free postal delivery in all parts of the country. There is no such thing as going to a country post office and waiting around for your mail. The letters are delivered by small boys who wear a uniform partly foreign but partly Japanese, wearing straw sandals, and who run about from door to door delivering letters. They must always keep on the run and so the letters are promptly and well delivered.

Japan has its railways and telegraphs. The railways are chiefly based upon those of England but to some extent adapted to their own conditions. In Tokio there are electric cars and some of the cars are better than I have had the opportunity of riding in anywhere else at all. Japan has adopted the outside of our Western civilization but she has not stopped there, and I do not believe that the changes in Japan are purely superficial. It is not simply that she is putting on an overcoat of Western civilization that she can throw off again; she is changing actually in her methods of thought. There are several things bringing this about. First, there are the schools. Japan has a complete school system based largely upon that of the United States. They have everything in the way of schools from the kindergarten to the university and in visiting a Japanese school one would see that it was very much like a school here, with desks, seats, blackboard, and maps, and in some of the scientific laboratories they seem to be exceedingly well equipped. The schools are bringing the children up in Western ideas. Western geography and Western history is taught and so the rising generation will be largely Western. The power of heredity is not so very great after all, and children who have been brought up in our own thoughts and in our own ways of living will not be so very different from ourselves.

Then the newspapers are exerting a great influence in Japan; and counting newspapers and periodicals there are more than 1,000 in that country. These keep the people posted in all that is going on in the rest of the world. One sometimes meets a man who will ask about an article in the London *Times* which he has seen translated in his own paper and he has his opinions with regard to that. To show how closely we are connected with the rest of the world there, the Toronto fire was reported in some of the local papers in Japan the day after it occurred. We heard the extent of the fire, the amount of the loss. People of all classes read the newspapers—they are published cheaply and in reading them they are absorbing Western ideas. This is making a radical change in the nation. Together with newspapers of course the presses are sending out quantities of other literature and many of our English and Western books are translated into Japanese. Then Christianity, I believe, is in that country changing the ideas of the people quite apart from the growth of Christian bodies. Christian ideas are permeating the nation, and the humanity that has been shown in this present war, the kind treatment that has been shown towards the enemy and their prisoners and their wounded, has not been entirely due to Japanese character. I do not wish to under-estimate at all the Japanese character, they have many noble traits, but yet they are absorbing Christian ideas and Christian ideals.

If one nation more than any other is influencing Japan it is our own nation. The English language is being studied in all the schools in Japan, above the primary schools; that is boys from thirteen or fourteen years upward all learn English. I am not very sure about the girls' schools. But the English language is being well studied and it is not an uncommon thing to find boys of seventeen or eighteen who speak English very well. They have a great desire to learn our language and in travelling about the country one continually makes friends of young men coming up and using the opportunity of meeting one for practicing English. The language of our country is used by the people in many ways. For instance, the railway tickets in Japan are printed on one side in Japanese and on the other side in English. The people consider it rather stylish to use English. In even out of the way parts of the country, up in the mountains, one may occasionally see signs in English, even in places where a foreigner would never go. Some of the English signs in Tokio are rather amusing. For instance, a city transfer was described on one sign as "An internal railway, baggage sent in all directions." The influx of the English language is bringing the people of that country close to ourselves. With the language come English ideas and so we draw nearer and nearer together.

Japan has felt very grateful to England for what has been done for her in the past. England was the first country to revise the treaties with Japan on equal terms and for that Japan felt exceedingly grateful. The alliance with England has also been a cause of self-congratulation among that people. There was a great rejoicing in Tokio and many parts of the country when that was announced and on account of that we are well received wherever we go. I remember last year travelling with a Bishop and at one town receiving a right-royal reception. It was simply because the Bishop was an Englishman. We were first taken to a school where the Bishop spoke on an ethical subject before about 500 students. After that about twenty-five or thirty leading citizens, lawyers, judges and doctors gave a dinner at a foreign restaurant; everything was in foreign style and there were, I think, about fifteen courses, beginning with oysters on the shell and ending with ice cream. That evening the Bishop spoke before about 200 members of a certain Club. The next morning he spoke at a large girls' school where there were about 400 girls and after that we were again entertained at a very good luncheon entirely in Western style. This is simply an illustration of the good feeling of the Japanese towards ourselves.

We should then sympathize with the Japanese; we should treat them with respect. The victories of Japan, her achievements in the Chinese War in relief of the legations at Pekin, and also in this present War, have forced people to treat her seriously. Russia was disposed to do otherwise but I think she has probably changed her opinion now. But our respect for Japan should not be based simply upon her military and naval achievements; it should be based more upon her achievements in peace; upon her great progress in Western civilization and her commercial achievements of a peaceful kind. Japan has been in the past perhaps backward in commerce. The Japanese in the old days were not accustomed to business. In fact the business man was looked upon as being of the lowest class. First came the soldiers, then the farmers, then the artisans and last of all the merchants. But to-day that has been changed and people are going into business from the nobility down, but still, as business was despised in the old days, the business methods are not altogether ideal, and it has been hard for Japan to change them altogether quickly. This has to some extent accounted for the fact that the Chinese are looked upon generally as better business men than the Japanese.

But Japan has great business firms to-day who are carrying on their business on methods that would be approved of anywhere. She has the usual banking institutions and in these everybody is Japanese. It is quite a mistake that some people have that Chinese are employed. Chinese are employed in the ports but not in the banks or throughout the country. Japan has developed a wonderful foreign trade. After twenty years, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, or Japan Steamship Company, has achieved wonderful success. They have a fleet of seventy vessels running to America, Australia and England. Japan's advance then in the arts of peace should call forth our sympathy and as Japan advances Westward we should draw closer to it and should give Japan all the help we can. We English-speaking people have especial opportunities in that direction. We have the same ideals; we stand for religious freedom and freedom of speech; we stand for the integrity of China and the open door in the far East; and the victory which, I trust, will not be long delayed—the victory of Japan in this present war—will mean the progress of mankind politically, socially and morally.

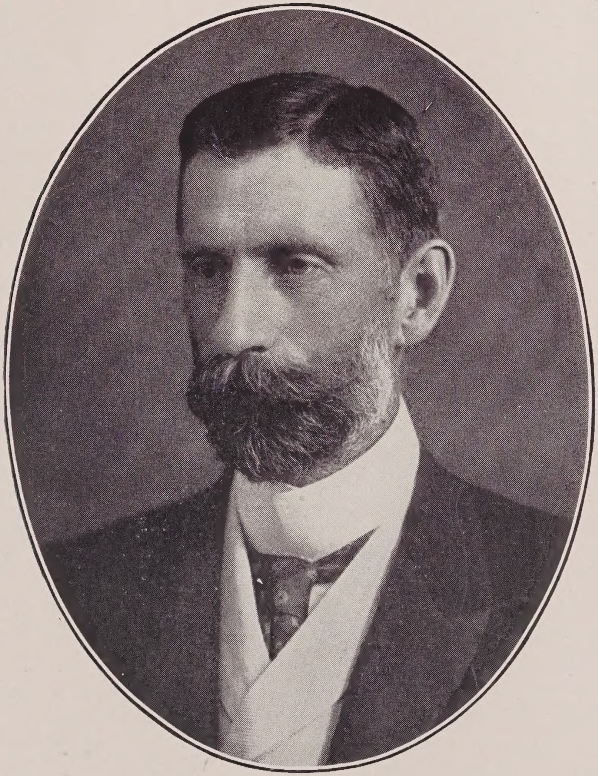
CANADA'S POSITION IN THE EMPIRE.

Address by Mr. W. F. Cockshutt, M.P., on Friday evening, May 12th, 1905.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

For the sake of conciseness I have divided into three heads the subject that I have selected—Canada's Position in the Empire in *trade, defence* and *citizenship.* Speaking of the matter of trade, Preferential Trade has been for many years the hope of many Canadians. Many Canadians, I think, have seen the advantage that would accrue to the Mother Country as well as the various Sister Colonies if we could establish an all-round commercial combine within the four corners of the Empire. Perhaps no city in the whole of the Empire has done more in that direction than the City of Toronto. I do not say that in flattery, but believing it to be true. I think as far back as 1892 the Board of Trade sent over Resolutions to London on this point, and from that day until this at the various Congresses of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire where this subject has been debated I am proud to say that the Resolution from the Board of Trade of the City of Toronto on this question has taken the first place.

The Englishman does not believe in talking too much and the Resolutions he likes are generally those which are concise; and I am happy to say when the Englishmen arrived at the Montreal Congress they said that our ten Canadian Resolutions should be combined into one, and the London Chambers said that in their opinion the Toronto Resolution had the call; but they said, you will have to go in committee and fight it out; and it was fought out and Toronto polled every vote given to that Resolution outside the City of Montreal. Toronto has been and is now the head-centre of these great Imperial questions. That is a desirable position to occupy—a



Mr. W. F. Cockshutt, M.P.

position Toronto occupied long before I had anything to do with it. Such men as Colonel Denison and our esteemed President have done much to make Toronto what it is among the cities of the Dominion and the place it takes in the great British Empire. I believe to hold that position both in the City of Toronto and in the Dominion the work of this Club is most urgently needed. I find, especially among the younger men, many of whom have never seen Great Britain and perhaps never will, there is not perhaps the same instinct as we have with regard to the Empire; there is not the same incentive for them as there is for us to remain an integral part of the British Empire. We, perhaps, either British born or born of British parents on Canadian soil, both of which are equally good, stand for Imperialism and British citizenship that is just as good in any part of the world where the British flag waves as in old London herself.

Preferential Trade has been tried in Canada to a certain extent. I am sorry it has not received that trial which many of us in the City of Toronto think it should have received. We have given but we have not received. I do not know whether I voice the opinions of many of the Club or not, but my view has been that whenever it is entered into it must be entered into on a business basis. We should sit down with the good old Mother Country and the various component parts of the British Empire wherever the British flag floats and see how and where we can help each other and assist each other to forward our trade without injuring each other. As we look around us we know there is a vast amount of the imports of this country coming from Foreign nations that might just as well be coming from Great Britain or some Colony of the Empire; and equally truthful, that many of the products we are raising in Canada which we have to ship abroad could supply Great Britain's needs and the needs of the Sister Colonies just as well as those from the United States or some of those nations that owe no allegiance whatever and are rather hostile than helpful to the British flag.

Holding as a sound business doctrine in trade, in the long run I believe the best way to preserve friendships, the best way to have a full understanding is to have a bargain made in such a way that it is satisfactory to both; that one cannot say to the other, you have got the advantage of me, but that we sit down and count the cost between us and see where we can help Great Britain and the Colonies and also point out to them where they can help us. Our manufacturers in some instances have been hurt by the Preferential tariff; and some men who were favourable to our policy say to-day that they do not want any more of that preference. Why? Because the spirit in which the preference was at first intended had not been protective; and it has injured possibly some of our industries, particularly perhaps the Woollen trade; and that I think has arisen largely out of a misdirected policy. I believe that the term meant what we now call a mutual preferential trade which expresses the spirit in which we intended to enter on the question. In 1901 we imported under the general tariff $78,000,000 worth of goods and we paid thereon as duty $23,000,000; in 1902 we imported $88,000,000 worth and paid $26,000,000; in 1903 we imported $99,000,000 worth and paid $30,000,000; in 1904 $99,000,000 and paid $20,000,000; and in 1904 under the surtax we brought in an additional $4,900,000 and paid on it $1,896,000. In all we imported in those four years $369,000,000 worth of goods under the general tariff and paid thereon $112,000,000 in round numbers of duties, or an average of 30·46 per cent.

Under the Preferential Tariff we imported in those same years as follows: In 1901 $27,000,000 worth and paid thereon $5,280,000; in 1902 $30,000,000 and paid $5,729,000; in 1903 $37,000,000 and paid thereon $7,000,000; in 1904 $44,000,000 and paid $8,889,000—in all $140,000,000 brought in during the four years and $26,000,000 of duty paid thereon, or nearly $27,000,000, and this was an average of 19·19 as against 30·46 between the general tariff and the preferential tariff. That shows you, then, the sacrifice that Canada has made for the sake of Britain and her Colonies in the duty that she would have collected if she had been exacting the same from

Great Britain that she does from Foreign countries. We feel we have really contributed something to the Empire. I am sorry to say we frequently see asked in British newspapers, "What is Canada doing for the Empire?" Is she willing to give anything for Empire defence? They seem to lose sight of the fact that we have given something. Canada has under this tariff sacrificed about $5,000,000. We have given this without knowing exactly what it was and the Mother Country has received it without perhaps appreciating what she was getting. It is not until we would withdraw it that she would appreciate it. We are taunted that we do not do anything for Great Britain. If we had collected that duty—and that was my view—and then had handed it out as a contribution, if you will, Great Britain would then have something she could appreciate and see at any rate. Our import from Great Britain, if our tariff was the same as against the other parts of the world, would not be as great as it has been.

Mr. Chamberlain's idea of a return Preference is absolutely right. I believe he is ready to give this. It should have been done long ago. They should have given us an advantage in the markets of Great Britain for that advantage we are giving them here. But for some reason or other he has not yet been able to prevail upon British sentiment to give us that. But I believe the time is not far distant when a large number of the British will reach that conclusion. They move comparatively slowly but I think they are getting there. I think they will get there providing something does not happen in the meantime that may divert it. This Preferential Tariff I admit has increased our trade with Great Britain on the one side, but we have not increased our trade on the other side any more than it would have increased under other conditions because we have had no particular advantage. If our bacon and butter and cheese are not as good as the Englishmen can buy elsewhere he is not going to eat them because they come from the Colonies.

In order to show you what a real preference might do I think I might refer you to the British West Indies.

Take the Island of Jamaica alone. It is about three years since the Canadian Government thought it might give a preference to Jamaican sugar. At that time we brought in less than $1,000,000 worth into Canada. In less than three years it has jumped up to over $3,000,000. The conditions have not altered; it is purely and simply a matter of change in this market and we have given what Great Britain should have done. Those men in the West Indies are fellow-citizens of ours; many of them are British in blood and by birth; but in some instances these people were having their business crowded to the wall and for years they held out their hand to the Mother Country and asked her to give them help and she said she must continue to buy her sugar in the cheapest market. That is an example of what Canada has done and can do, and what any country in the Empire can do if it has a tariff arranged to suit it. In that way we have put that industry upon its feet and increased that trade nearly threefold. I believe as soon as we get that tariff fixed properly, as I believe it can be done, we would have practically a trade treaty between the Mother Country and the Colonies.

We are told we must not make a trade treaty with Great Britain. Why not within the Empire if it is proper outside of the Empire? We have had our Reciprocity Treaty with the United States; we have at present an arrangement with France; why shouldn't we have an arrangement with England? They tell us it is better to have sentiment only. But, how many of us know that families have been dispersed for lack of thorough understanding between father and son and the result has been that they have had to bring in an alien and pay him or her the wages that they denied the son or daughter in the house. That I am glad to say is not so common as it was. I mention that to show you the danger there is in our time of saying we cannot have an arrangement between Great Britain and the Sister Colonies because we are so close by blood that we ought to have it all give and no take. My opinion is in order to have these trade arrangements satisfactory there must be a distinct and separate understanding with regard to every item we undertake to deal with; and in doing so I believe we will best retain the friendship and best retain the solidity of the British Empire; and conserve to all ranks in society that standing that business and trade should always have, whether it be between strangers or men born in the same house and owning the same father and mother —brothers. There is no reason against it and there is nothing, I believe, that leads to so close a friendship as to have a complete understanding wherein both sides understand one another and all is mutually satisfactory and helpful.

I am no great fighter. My friend, Mr. Castell Hopkins, did the fighting for me when we were over in London. We discussed the question of Defence on that occasion as well as Trade.* The recent visit of His Excellency to Toronto has served to emphasize the position Canada at present holds. Everything he said and stated was, in my opinion, the height of statesmanship. Our position with regard to the Empire in matters of defence is certainly not satisfactory. I am no great fighter, but if it ever comes to upholding the British flag and I can join the home corps I shall do so. I believe in paying my share for the defence of the Empire. I think this has been brought home to us more closely within the last few weeks. It has been announced in the House of Commons that the few remaining British troops in Halifax and Esquimalt are to be withdrawn and that these forts are to be manned in the near future by Canadian troops only. That to my mind is a very serious step and I must say that it brought a kind of sadness to my heart when I understood we were going to lose the last vestige of British troops in this country. I said in the House of Commons that in my mind that was a serious mistake, and I made this remark in justification of that statement. I said, not that Canada should not pay for the defence of those forts and a great deal more, but that I believed any body of men, any regiment or combination of regiments that are fit to defend Halifax and Esquimalt as strong outposts of the British Empire are fit to place in any fortification in Great Britain herself and help to hold her forts against the nations of the world.

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* NOTE—Chambers of Commerce Conference, 1896.

I believe it means just as much to the Empire and to Great Britain herself to defend Halifax or Esquimalt as it does to defend any of those fine fortifications that dot Great Britain and that bristle on her coasts around the whole of the tight little island. That was my view. It is not because I am opposed to paying the small amount it would cost us to defend these two fortresses, but it is because I think it is snapping another of those slender ties that bind Canada to the Mother-land. I consider to have one or two regiments of the line in Canada is worth its while. They are examples to our young men of heroic conduct; and I have said and I repeat it now, I believe it would be the best incentive we could have for our own troops if, instead of sending them to Halifax and Esquimalt, we should make arrangements with Great Britain that she should from time to time send her best regiments here to show our people what they do, and we would send some of our regiments over there to show their people what our people can do. In that way we would have something to work for. Men quite good enough to send to South Africa and to hold their own with the best of the Britishers are good enough to send home to the Mother-Country. That is my view. I do not profess to be a soldier or a military man. There may be strategic objections to this that I do not understand. I don't know who ordered it and I have not yet fully comprehended perhaps what it means.

What are the ties that bind us to the Mother-Country to-day? No trade arrangement, no contribution to the army or navy, no representation in Great Britain or her Councils; we have simply the Governor-General and the Privy Council. It does seem rather desirable that when you are attacked you have a shot-gun in the house; and though it may not be a very formidable weapon, it is something to begin with that we could hold the enemy at bay until we could rally our forces. I think we should contribute not two millions and a half, but in proportion to the advantages that we receive. That I believe could be figured out on a business basis. We are dependent every day and every hour of the day, and while you and I sit here the traffic we have on the high seas is defended by the British navy. We, as partakers of the benefit that is being derived, should also contribute to the cost of it, and I believe we are willing and able to do it. I believe as true citizens of the Empire we are ready to say to-day that our fair share of what should be contributed will be forthcoming at the time that it is needed.

I think it is not desirable at the present moment to talk about independence when we are not ready to subscribe to the support of the British army or British navy. If we had been a part of the United States last year how much would it have cost us? About $30,000,000. Two million and a half dollars we are paying now. If we were independent I think it would be nearer $60,000,000 and then we would have a very inefficient defence. When I mention these figures I do so to show you the necessity of making some little contribution; and I believe in small contributions. I would like to see us set out and in the next three or five years give to the British Navy a first-rate ship; call it "Canada" if you will. Therefore I consider independence should not be thought of, much less mentioned. The men who are talking independence are the very men who kick at contribution to defence in any form. If we are not to have any militarism we certainly cannot have any defence.

One other matter before I sit down, and one of the most important works that this Empire Club should be engaged in is to get this matter rectified and that is the naturalization of aliens. I have here a copy of the *Law Times* which I am glad to say has at last taken the matter up. It is three years ago since the Toronto Board of Trade brought this matter before the Chambers of the Empire—unification of the naturalization laws of the Empire. If you study that subject you will strike some very surprising facts. There is not one man in a hundred in the Dominion of Canada to-day who knows anything like the proposition we have right here in that little question. Do you know that the present situation in Canada, and it applies to all the Colonies in the Empire, is that we have not the power to-day to make a British citizen outside of our own borders. A German, a Frenchman and an Italian can come here to Canada and reside for twenty-five or fifty years, may take out his naturalization papers, be eligible and sit for the highest office in the land, and when he went abroad and got beyond the three-mile limit off the coast he would be neither a citizen of Canada nor of any other part of the Empire. That same man cannot take out his papers in Great Britain and become a British citizen at all until he has lived there his full five years. A man may be a British citizen in New Zealand or Australia and when he gets to Great Britain he is a Frenchman, a German or a Russian, and none of our Colonies to-day has any power to make a citizen out of an alien that is any good beyond the confines of its own territory.

That is a very serious state of things. We have almost every nation under heaven in Canada to-day. Our North-West is filling up to a large extent with foreign elements that in some instances are not desirable. A Doukhobor or Mennonite coming in there is in just as good a position to take up citizenship in Canada as an alien that has lived in Great Britain twenty-five years and takes out his papers there and comes here to Canada. An alien in Canada has to come here and fill his three years, take his oath of allegiance and take out his papers and become naturalized here. When he goes to Great Britain that does not count to his advantage in the least. And likewise if Great Britain or Australia does the very same thing, in this country we do not recognize it. Whenever that man sets his foot abroad he is in trouble. He cannot be even assured a full passport under British law. I supposed that an alien naturalized in Canada was as good as myself, but it is not the case at all. As soon as he gets on the high seas or any foreign country he becomes a citizen of the country from which he first came. Furthermore that man cannot be legally married abroad; according to the laws of Great Britain his family could not inherit property.

I tell you, it is a serious question when we see we are bringing in nationalities from all parts here and giving them what? Only a citizenship in Canada and only good so long as they are within our own borders. We are taking away from citizens of the United States a free citizenship in the United States and giving them a partial citizenship in the Empire. That should be rectified, and the only way is to have the Mother-Country declare that certain conditions fulfilled qualify a man to call himself a British citizen and if those are fulfilled in Canada, the West Indies, South Africa or any other place where the British flag floats it will be the same as though fulfilled in the Mother-Country herself. I believe that a citizen in Canada, properly qualified and naturalized, should be just as good when he is in another part of the Empire, and should be entitled to the protection of the flag, entitled to hold property in a British state, entitled to hold any of those things that he is disqualified as an alien from holding. Surely there is something very weak and radically wrong in this British citizenship of which we have boasted so much.

I would commend to you an article that appears by Dr. Hoyles, the Principal of the Law School; and Mr. E. T. Malone is another gentleman who has thoroughly looked into it. He prepared the facts of the case that the Toronto Board of Trade submitted to the Chambers of the Empire. Mr. George Anderson spoke on the same subject at the Montreal meeting, and others spoke, but there was not a man in that room that denied the facts that I am pointing out to-night, and they admitted every one of them it was not right. They went back to Great Britain and I am glad to say that the London Chamber of Commerce, as soon as they got together, passed a similar Resolution to that which we passed calling upon Great Britain to make one common naturalization law that wherever the British flag waves every British citizen, be he of any race or creed, if he has taken the oath of allegiance to the King, shall be entitled to and shall receive all the rights, liberties, and privileges that you and I enjoy under the British flag and Crown. I thank you, gentlemen.

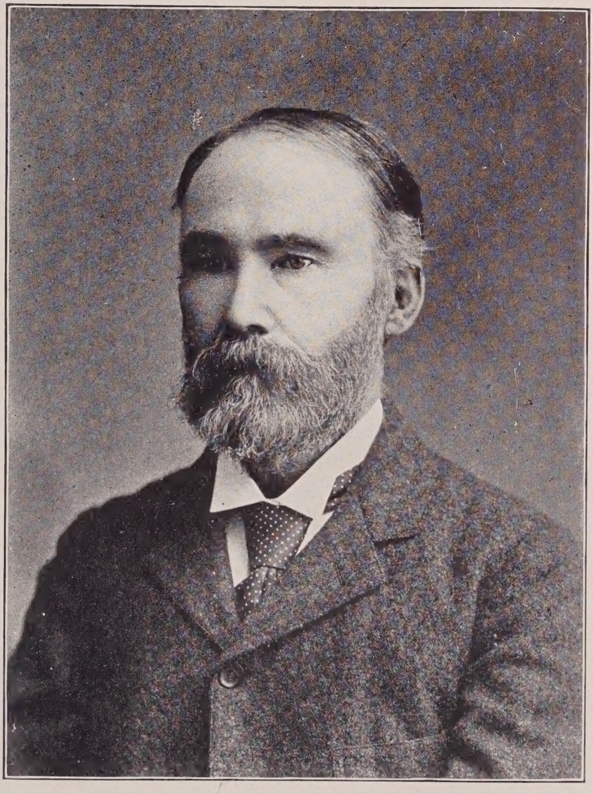
THE EVOLUTION OF CANADIAN SENTIMENT.

Address by the Hon. G. W. Ross, LL.D., M.L.A., lately Prime Minister of Ontario, on Friday evening, May 12th, 1905.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I have been looking for, almost waiting for an opportunity for the last year or two since this Club was formed to avail myself of the privilege of meeting its members and speaking to them, if ever so briefly. I knew the objects of the Club, I knew the spirit which animated its first President, Colonel Mason, and I might properly say its founder, and I knew that its purpose was quite in harmony with my own views; and in general terms, I just felt it would have given me a great deal of pleasure perhaps to exchange opinions with the members of the Club and to congratulate the President upon the great success which attended his efforts and to congratulate the Club upon its excellent and progressive membership. This was when I had a great many cares on hand and when I felt I liked to have a hand in almost everything that was going on. Since I have retired to the dignity and repose of private citizenship my ambition in many respects has been curtailed, and I must feel as if my past services to the country were sufficient. However, I could not resist the importunity of your President to be with you to-night, if I could say ever so little, even if I could say nothing at all, but to catch if possible the tone and spirit of the Club and to learn from others who might speak what the purpose of the Club really was. I am glad I have come and I suppose some of you will be glad when I go. We will leave that an open question for the present.

I am glad I have heard Mr. Cockshutt's speech; its wide range and its conclusive facts, its thorough Imperialism, shall I call it, for that is not a new word now, although it was new a few years ago, is refreshing even to as hardheaded and persistent a Canadian as myself.



Hon. George W. Ross, LL.D., M.P.P.
Lately Prime Minister of Ontario.

Now, I cannot tell you much that is new. I suppose this Club is so thoroughly informed in regard to all matters pertaining to the history of Canada, her aims, her ambitions and her ideals, that no one living amongst you can reach beyond the points to which you have gone. I thought, however, just a gleam of light, if I could throw but a gleam, upon the evolution of Canadian sentiment would rather elevate the plane upon which we Canadians now stand, would perhaps, if not by the searchlight, at least as by a blazing of the trail which is truly a Canadian term, indicate the course through which we have passed in the last fifty or one hundred years from what might be, what biologists would call, a protoplasm of Canadian loyalty to the rather fuller development which I trust we have now reached.

It is not hard to believe, I think you will accept the proposition readily, that there was a time when there was no such thing as Canadian loyalty. I suppose that is true in the evolution of a family. There is no such thing as the full development of the spirit of home in man until he feels he has a home for himself. When our fathers came here they came to a land in which they had their fortunes to make if there was a chance for them; which land was entirely destitute of a history and in order to give themselves any identity or individuality at all they had to attach themselves to the land from which they came. It is only, Sir, within the last few years we knew we were Canadians. I am sorry to say in Great Britain they hardly know we are Canadians yet. They generally speak of us as Americans, as if there was not in the term "Canadian" a sweetness and a power which cannot issue, and which we must not allow to issue from the rather mal-appropriated term "American" which some people in this country use for themselves. I said our first sentiments of connection with Canada were entirely that of British connection, and all our first efforts to preserve our identity were efforts not to preserve the identity or the existence of Canada, but were to preserve that British connection which we transferred, or our fathers transferred, to this country by their settlement here.

The War of 1812 was not a war engaged in by Canadians for Canada, it was a war to maintain British connection. The object of the Americans was to annex us. We fought to maintain British connection. There may have been perhaps a scintilla of Canadian love and loyalty; there may have been in the minds of some of us the idea that we were fighting for the land in which we live and for the property which we possess and for our homes, but these ideas were in the form in which a man fights for any goods he may have in his possession when waylaid by the highwayman. But the prevailing idea and the main consideration which led to the fight of 1812, so far as we were concerned, was to preserve Canada to Great Britain and not to preserve it to Canadians. When we came to the rebellion of 1837, many years afterwards, that trouble was suppressed through the idea that the promoters of the Rebellion had in their minds the diversion of Canada to the United States. We fought then in 1837 without any prevailing or predominating idea that we were fighting for Canada or fighting for Canadian privileges; we were fighting to remain under the British flag.

Really as I read history Canadians did not feel even then we had a Canada to fight for. And what is true of our efforts, and very proper and praiseworthy efforts they were, to maintain British connection is also true of much of our trade arrangements of the time. For instance, if you read the life of Lord Elgin you will find that the Treaty of Reciprocity was made not from a Canadian standpoint as much as from the British standpoint. By the abolition of the Corn Laws and the abrogation of the Preferential Tariff which existed then between Canada and Great Britain in the matter of lumber and wheat and flour, our trade with Great Britain was practically destroyed and the instructions to Lord Elgin were, in order to overcome the discontent which prevailed in Canada at the loss of business, to make an effort to establish better trade relations with the United States in order that the Canadians might be content and continue their allegiance to the British Crown. So that the whole history of Canada up to Confederation, and that itself, as I will show in a moment, was a history in which the standpoint of the Canadian was that of British connection, a worthy standpoint to be sure, but yet a standpoint which had not in it those elements of loyalty which were subsequently injected into the Canadian mind.

And, coming to Confederation itself, if you read the discussion in the House of Lords when the Bill was introduced by the Colonial Secretary you will there find one of the objects of Confederation was to unite the Canadian Provinces so that they might present a united front to the Americans should the Americans be too aggressive. The preamble of that Act shows that pretty clearly because it refers to the establishment in Canada of a Government after the model of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. So that even in that very recent stage in our history the Canadian standpoint was one of British connection rather than of, shall I say, an integral, ingrained, devoted loyalty to Canada itself. The next stage was a different one that practically grew out of the Confederation of 1867, largely moved, too, by a party organization at that time known as the Canada First party, which had some excellent qualities and which for some time endeavoured to direct Canadian sentiment; in some respects I think wrongfully, in other respects rightfully, towards the intrinsic merits of Canada itself and directing us also to the duty of loving Canada because it was great enough to be loved, because it was good enough to be loved and because it had in its constitution those elements of freedom and liberty which made for greatness; that it was our duty not to fear about greatness but to look boldly upon the future and to meet it with a loyal heart, remembering the words of Tennyson:

> We sailed wherever ship could sail;
> We founded many a mighty state.
> Pray Heaven our greatness may not fail
> Through craven fear of being great.

And we got that sentiment, and that sentiment grew in the Canadian mind. I do not want to call it Canada First sentiment except for the convenience of the term; for I would like to sever it from some elements that constituted the Canada First party. Let us look at the evolution from the time of the Confederation of 1867. I believe we builded better than we knew then. I believe the Fathers of Confederation, like the Fathers of the American Republic, even like the great Bismarck who founded the German Confederation, did not conceive of the future which we now see, much less of the future which our children shall see, as the foundation stone of that Confederation was laid in 1867. The first thing we did was to look around and with true Scotch frugality and British prudence endeavoured to see if we were having a clear title to the half of this Continent and we immediately negotiated with Great Britain or with the Hudson's Bay Company for possession of Rupert's Land, thus getting our hands upon practically a great empire, that which may be the greatest part of Canada yet, reaching from the boundary of Ontario on the west to the foot of the Rocky Mountains and north as far as ship can sail and farther still.

That showed that before we were practically twelve months old we had caught the inspiration of true Canadianism and we were seeking to clear the decks, as it were, for greater prosperity and progress and we got that great territory and it was well we got it then, for had we delayed the purchase thereof it would have cost us much more. Then having got the territory what did we do? We began as four Provinces and immediately we had this little family of four members it multiplied and it increased and we, as by a repetition of history, became possessed with the same spirit which animated the founders of the American Republic. They began with thirteen States and in a few years there were fifteen and seventeen and so on. As Madison said to Jefferson when they were trying to get the Constitution of the United States adopted by the other States: "We must not allow State rights to interfere nor must we look upon this Federation of ours from the standpoint of individual States, but we must think continentally." And the Americans thought continentally and they got Florida from Spain and Louisiana from France and they took Texas for themselves. They would have done more if we had let them. They thought continentally. Think of their getting from France the vast territory which they did. They thought continentally.

The ink was scarcely dry upon our Constitution when we began to think constitutionally. We began to think federally; we carved out Manitoba in 1869, we federated with British Columbia in 1871, with Prince Edward Island in 1873, we are making two more Provinces just now. Amid a great deal of confusion and a great deal of debate and discussion this new baby is born under certain disquieting circumstances but we will have two Provinces more. These twins will add to our Provinces and make them nine, and the true Canadian will not rest until Newfoundland is within the boundaries of the Constitution. That was the spirit that was born in 1867 and that is the spirit still. We must have elbow room. Britain has about one-quarter of the whole habitable portion of the globe to-day and John Bull sometimes feels himself a little squeezed in approaching certain portions of his territory. We must have elbow room, not for ourselves simply, but for the generations yet to come. We have got it and therefore we have territory enough to call forth the highest demands upon our loyalty.

Then as another evidence of that spirit, having got the country we sought to apply to it the energy which has characterized the Saxon race. Because the Saxon does not rest merely on the advancement of the civilization of any country he possesses, but he immediately begins to transform it so that it possesses in its outward appearance, as well as in the spirit of its institutions, some characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon mind. We felt we had a string of Provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific but in order to communicate with those more remote in the West we had to go through the United States by rail to San Francisco and by boat to Vancouver. The route was too long and it was not upon Canadian soil; and with that spirit which you cannot praise too highly, and an enterprise which admits of no exaggeration, we projected the Canadian Pacific Railway to connect these Provinces from Montreal to the Pacific on the one side, and the Intercolonial Railway with the Provinces on the Eastern side; so that from ocean to ocean we could span this country upon Canadian soil. An immense enterprise. From what did it originate? It originated from the determination or rather, shall I say, from the devotion which Canadians have towards their own country—prepared to saddle themselves with extensive burdens of debt, if necessary, and prepared to conquer the land and possess that which they had secured by negotiations with the British Government.

Then as another evidence we resolved that we should be masters of our own trade, to quote the language of the House in 1878. You see how fast we were progressing. The C. P. R. was first projected in 1872. Chronologically then comes the great event in the history of Canada known as the National Policy when we shook off those relations with the United States whereby she impinged upon our trade and we resolved that Canada for Canadians would not be a bad policy. There you have another assertion of our love for our own interests; and you cannot have patriotism unless you are prepared to surround yourselves with such protection in business and in, as my friend Mr. Cockshutt says, military matters as will secure you against your opponents. Some said that that protection was unfavourable to the British connection. That was one of the dreams of the times. It has not so resulted. Great Britain in her way, in fact Free Trade was her way, showed her determination to build up her industries. It is the converse of protection and yet it was the very process at the time which best suited her. She could not have done so well any other way. But by her peculiar geographical position and from want of capital and from various other causes too numerous to mention it seemed to be her duty and it has turned out to be a wise thing. It seems to have been our duty also, to see that our industries were placed in such a position as to give employment to our own people and to thrive in spite of the competition of those who would have destroyed them. That was another act of devotion to Canada. It was the spirit of taking care of yourselves, of loving your own self first. "To thine own self be true and thou canst not then prove false to any man," Shakespeare says.

First to be true to Canada, to her commercial interests, to her material interests, to her geographical interests, and these we had to fight for. When you and I were boys, Colonel Mason, Canada had no legal habitation or name except upon our geographies. It fact it was called British North America then, a very loving term indeed, but still more loving is the term by which it is now known, "The Dominion of Canada," and we Canadians members of that Dominion. That is the second step in the evolution of Canadian sentiment. We were then somebody or thought we were somebody. We were working for something and that something was the glorification of ourselves, a very pleasant talk at all times. That something was the making of ourselves a position which other nations would notice, making for ourselves a name which historians would quote with respect, making for ourselves a reputation which would win us the affection and esteem of the Mother Country; and although then we said less about British connection than we did in the first half of the century, we thought none the less of it, though it was to a certain extent submerged in the name "Canadian."

Then comes the next stage in which we began to think Imperially, as Chamberlain said. Now the evolution of that stage is very interesting. I see they are establishing a chair of Colonial History at Oxford. If I were twenty or thirty years younger I would apply for that chair. It is most interesting to notice the evolution of Canadian sentiment. How did we come to think Imperially? There were various circumstances, taken one after another, which led us to that step by step, and we did not know whither we were going. Perhaps the angels that ascended and descended on Jacob's ladder knew what they were doing, but we were ascending a stair, not Jacob's ladder, and did not know whether we were approaching the gates of Heaven or not. The first real step towards establishing an Imperial relation with Canada, on the part of Canada, was the appointment of a High Commissioner to Great Britain. That step was not approved by many and yet you see what it has led to. It has placed a Canadian with a Canadian spirit, with Canadian ideals, in easy connection, in immediate connection, with the Colonial Office; and the rank and dignity of the men appointed have done a great deal to intensify and strengthen the relations of Canada with the Empire. Take Sir A. T. Galt, a man of learning, a financial expert of the highest standing. Take Sir Charles Tupper, a man of great force and a thorough Canadian. Take the present occupant of the position, Lord Strathcona, and you can see how by the influence of these three men, an influence increasing by the successive appointments that were made, what a change has been brought about in England through contact with our Canadian Commissioners from time to time. That was a step to get us Canadians to think Imperially and to get Englishmen, or Great Britain, to think in a wider spirit.

Then the next step came at a somewhat later time but still had a profound effect upon British public opinion, namely, the concession of a Preferential Tariff in Canada for imports from Great Britain. And those of you who remember—it is only a little while ago—the impression that was made in Great Britain, will have noticed the effect it had upon British opinion. It was regarded as a most unequivocal evidence of Canadian devotion to the Crown; scarcely expected, it came unsolicited, and with a generosity far beyond what they had any reason to assume in advance. That Preferential Tariff is one-sided yet. We hope to see the other side of it before a great while. We have done our duty, we cannot withdraw it, we should not withdraw it; it is a gift, as Mr. Cockshutt has shown, that costs us about $5,000,000 a year; it is a gift we do not begrudge; we get the benefit of that ourselves in cheaper goods to a certain extent; but that is small compared with the fact that it is a standing offer to Great Britain to concede to us what we have conceded to them; and a man who has a gift in his hand from you and holds it there from year to year without returning you consideration in some sort of way is a man that has not much appreciation of your friendship; and we do not suppose and we cannot believe that with this upon the Statute book and remaining there from year to year, Great Britain will not feel that that concession of good-will from us to her is one to which she should not respond. I believe she will when the proper time comes.

Then we were taught to think Imperially, somewhat, by the invitation given to the Colonies at the time of the Diamond Jubilee and the Coronation. Since the days of King Alfred kings and queens were crowned at Westminster and sat in that Coronation Chair over that magic stone stolen from Scotland—how many things Scotland has been deprived of by force it is hard for me to say—the talisman which had made the British throne secure. Kings have been crowned since the days of Alfred and Queens, too, and great and notable they were, and England has had Colonies since the time of the Spanish Armada and yet never before was a Colonist recognized as having any right or part or parcel in the crowning of that King whom he was sworn to honour and whom he was bound to defend; but from some evolution in British sentiment, an evolution responded to in the most cordial manner from our Colony and all the other Colonies, there came the invitation. We must see the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen; we must see her, the greatest Regal force in the Empire; her whom all nations of the world delighted to honour, whose word was law to 350,000,000 of her people, and whose reputation was in the custody of a quarter million of British soldiers. We must see her in the hour of her triumph and her third Coronation.

And when the present King, Edward VII., came to the Crown, when he came to the throne with all the dignity that pertained to that position, the son of the greatest Queen that ever reigned, himself honoured because of his own meritorious qualities, we then must see him crowned and the formula by which he was crowned must be changed, for he was not simply to be King of Great Britain and Ireland and Emperor of India, but he must be crowned as King of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas—crowned for the first time in the history of England as King of Canada under the expressive term "His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas," as well as Emperor of India; and all his Colonies were there to see him crowned. A wider outlook given to us then. Then came that Colonial Conference of all the Colonies by which the affairs pertaining to the Empire had to be considered. Just think of how a statesman like Beaconsfield had said the Colonies were a millstone around their neck; Gladstone who thought they might be disposed of; and Earl Grey, the grandfather of our present Governor-General, who thought they were a needless encumbrance; and the Under-Colonial Secretary at the time of Lord Dufferin's appointment saying to Lord Dufferin: "We hope you will see some way of getting rid of these Canadian Colonies."

Men who would not be thought of fifty years ago as having scarcely judgment enough to manage their own affairs, sat down with the Colonial Secretary, sat in conference at times with the Prime Minister of England and took counsel together as to how that Colonial Empire must be consolidated and strengthened. Taught to think Imperially because, first, we made Canada so important that it could not be overlooked. They recognized the position we had attained and said: Yes, we will take Canada into our council at the Conference and see what we can do for the Empire of which Canada forms a part. Then came two little circumstances, apparently, which also broadened our outlook—Penny Postage and the Pacific Cable. Connected with Australia by way of the Pacific on the west, and the same rate of postage across the sea, and *vice versa,* as pertains between Canada and other parts of this Continent. Broadened again because of our relations by electricity and by Her Majesty's mail.

Then came the Boer War, a sad and terrible war—I then thought and have always thought that it might have been avoided with a little more patience, perhaps more deliberation, but somebody lacked in that respect. But it was a war for what? A war for maintaining the integrity of that part of the Empire; almost as great a part of the Empire in some respects as the Dominion of Canada.

Britain was not in any particular straits, she had men and she had guns and she had the money, too, and she could have reduced that war without any assistance. What was the spirit that took possession of us? If this is a war for the maintenance of the Empire—we are thinking now Imperially—Canada is prepared to have a hand in it; Canada is prepared to give such assistance as may be necessary. We sent 2,000 of our sons, commanded by our own officers, to take a part in maintaining for the Empire the greater part of South Africa. Thus again, seemingly not by commercial bonds as a Preferential Tariff, not by facilities for transportation as the Pacific Cable or ocean steamships, but seemingly by the best blood of Canada the relations were broadened between this Dominion and the Empire beyond the seas. Then again how wide our horizon has become. Ah, we could look to Queenston Heights and defeat Van Rensselaer and drive his miserable soldiers across the cliffs into the Niagara River, but that was the work of an invasion and it was well done; we could perhaps fight at Chateauguay and put down a little rebellion by our hand, or even send Colonel Denison or Colonel Mason to settle troubles at Batoche, and it was well done, but that is at home; that was settling a little quarrel as the Police Magistrate settles a row here in Leader Lane under his elbow; but this was a war for the Empire far away. What interest could we have in it? What did we care for the Boer or what did we care for a few aliens in that country? That was not the thought. Britain needed help, or if she didn't need help she would take it. She was not too proud to take it and we were loyal enough to give it and with so satisfactory a result. Another extension of the Imperial idea.

And, lastly, what is most in evidence now before us is the effort on the part of England's greatest Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, to persuade the people of England that the complement of a preferential tariff from Canada is a Preferential Tariff on the part of Great Britain. The two go together, they are part the one of the other. Our part is complete, or if not it is at least in an intelligible condition. The other part is not yet complete. When or how it will be completed it is not for me to say because I don't know, and yet I think it is going to be. If not yet I believe after a while Great Britain will feel that to have £100,000,000 sterling of foreign goods forced upon the British market to the displacement of £100,000,000 sterling of her own manufactured goods is not a good thing for Great Britain. And if it is not a good business proposition I think she will feel, even if she has to make a little sacrifice for it, like showing the world that the British Empire is one and indivisible, that it is worth making that sacrifice for. You know the climax of Daniel Webster's reply to Senator Hay was, "A union one and inseparable, now and forever." I think the climax to the best oration that can be announced to-day in the British Empire is "A Colonial Empire now and forever, one and inseparable"; and to make it one there must be not only the cords of sentiment, and these are strong, thank God, but there must be every other cord which enters into relations which are to be permanent and secure and which human ingenuity can devise; and among these a most influential one in the history of every country is that commercial cord which introduces into the relations of the countries this spirit of self-interest. It may be a base spirit but to a certain extent it rules the world.

Now that I have reached the third stage of Canadian sentiment, the stage at which we have now arrived, how do you like it? Isn't it a good thing that we have the larger citizenship which this stage pre-supposes and suggests? It is big enough, perhaps you will say, for any of us to be a Canadian citizen and to love Canada because of its extent and resources and possibilities; and we are not big enough perhaps to take all that and what it implies in our arms; but after all does it not make for largeness of vision and for liberality of thought, that we can feel that while we are Canadian citizens, in addition thereto, if these new conditions are brought about, citizens of the Empire in its largest sense. Naturalization laws adapted to our conditions. A British subject once, a British subject always, a British subject anywhere, a British subject everywhere. Commercial relations that do not simply assist the exchange of goods between Canada and Great Britain or make Liverpool the terminus of our great railroads; but make the termini of our trade and great railroads wherever the British flag gives an entry to a Canadian ship, or wherever a Canadian ship can sail. That larger citizenship wherever evolved. The smaller the pit the fiercer the rats fight. The smaller your ideas of citizenship the meaner you become. The men who live in the back lane are not as broad-minded as the men who live on the front street. The man who isolates himself is not as big a man as the man who lives in a town or in a community with his fellow-men.

Large as are the ideals of Canadians they will be still larger in my opinion if we throw our vision beyond our own land and include in that vision Canada as part of the great Empire. Then I think this will also lead to a larger citizenship. The measure of the nation's greatness is really the measure of its statesmen. It was Thomas Carlyle who said that the institutions of a country are but the shadows of its great men. You cannot have a large shadow without a large man and if you study history and look at those who have survived from twenty, to fifty, to one hundred years, you will find in every case they were men who had made more than an ordinary impression upon their times. How the vast sponge of time wipes from the calendar the names that for the moment seem to occupy the front of the stage. But the names that cannot be pushed back out of range are the names of the men that are written large in the history of their country and in the evolution of its institutions.

What has made British statesmen, perhaps, greater than other statesmen in other countries of the world is that the British Empire is greater; they had to grow up to the magnitude of their task. To govern a city like Toronto might be a matter of great importance and may require large men, but as you widen the area of government you require your men to widen in proportion, and the Peels and the Pitts and the Beaconsfields and the Gladstones and the Salisburys and others who held the helm of state during England's peril, or during her most progressive periods, were men who were as big as England's wants were at the time being; and if we want to evolve that higher class of statesmen which will be big enough for Canada we must try to give them the wider outlook so that they will measure themselves, not by ordinary standards such as prevail among us, but they will measure themselves by the standards which have been given to us by the Empire.

Our politics are perhaps good enough for us as we are. They rise to the level generally of the men who have them in charge, and yet I sometimes feel that we have not impressed upon the people of this country the higher elements of politics to which they ought to look to-day in Canada as a whole rather than to special advantages which they are to derive themselves directly from the representative or representation of their constituencies. We want a wider outlook and we want, if possible, that the future of Canada should be moulded by the models which the Imperial Government has given to us, and these models were framed out of the necessities and the strength of the British Empire.

And, lastly, this larger citizenship will give us more accurate ideas of what Imperial supremacy means. Is Britain the highest representation of what we call civil and religious liberty? Has she, as Gladstone has said she endeavoured to do, set before the world an example of disinterested justice and at great sacrifice protected the liberties of the helpless and attempted to strike the shackles from the slave mentally, morally and physically? Is the record of the British Empire, taken all in all, a record of the highest water-mark in civilization and the progress of Christianity? If so, if so, let us bring that record nearer to us by associating ourselves and our future with that Empire and in such close relations that we will absorb knowingly or unknowingly, it may be, but absorb perhaps unconsciously the spirit of that British civilization so that we can say to all Canada and to every Province therein, to her sons and to every alien that comes to our shore and to every man that takes the oath of allegiance to our Government, that he has here the highest opportunity of realizing all the privileges of citizenship and contributing whatever powers he possesses to extend these privileges. I present, therefore, Mr. Chairman, these views to the minds of the members of this Club. We are still in the making and, Sir, I think in a process of evolution from a lower to a higher plane, and having reached the plane we now have we may feel that the goal of to-day is but the starting place of to-morrow and what we enjoy is far less than what we have to transmit and endeavour to communicate to our sons.

CANADIAN PATRIOTISM.

Address by Mr. Henry C. Osborne, on Thursday, March 30th, 1905.

Mr. President,—

With your permission, I will speak very briefly upon the subject of patriotism in general and, more particularly, Canadian patriotism. It is, in the first place, to be observed that patriotism is distinctly a product of geographical conditions. In man it is an inherent instinct to stay in the country of one's birth, and from that is developed a love of the land, which is commonly patriotism. It is even noted that this instinct is most strongly developed among dwellers in mountainous or rugged countries, where man comes in more intimate contact with Mother Earth. The peaks piercing the clouds and ascending heavenward seem to inspire a reverential love in the inhabitants which finds expression in high-minded patriotism, in lofty love of country. On rugged coasts we find the same fervent devotion, the same unselfish love of country, even to the sacrifice of life itself. In fertile plains where life is easier, where wealth is readily produced from the soil, and where the cornucopia is upturned to pour out the treasures of the material world into the laps of all the inhabitants of a productive land, we find that patriotism is a tamer thing. Just as men seem to lose some of the virile qualities which obtain among the inhabitants of rougher countries, so patriotism itself loses something of its wild and picturesque abandon.

There is, however, another quality which is closely related to patriotism, but which is not of geographical, but racial origin; that is, love of race, or loyalty. The conjunction of these two qualities makes what we commonly describe as patriotism; and where race and soil combine to evoke both, the moral qualities of a great and permanent people are assured. Patriotism thus defined is the most lofty and elevated of all social sentiments. I

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do not believe that love of the land is sufficient. Political solidarity is one thing. We have on our own continent two great countries of mixed races, of many different peoples, living happily and prosperously together under a constitution, or machinery of government, which provides for all an equal opportunity of gaining and enjoying prosperity, and such happiness as this world can afford. At the same time, to a permanently great people, racial solidarity is as great a necessity as love of country. As Mercury sprang full-armed from the head of Jove, so from the great peoples of the world these immense new nations spring.

Canada is the offspring of two great countries, France and England, and I like to think that the best qualities of both those countries are to be found among our own people. However, I consider that love of race is an absolute essential to real patriotism in the fullest sense, and that the truest pariots are those who love not only their land, but who are proud of the fact that they are English or French, or whatever their nationality may happen to be. "Race," said Disraeli, "is the key of history. In the structure, the decay, and the development of the various families of men, the vicissitudes of history find their main solution: all is race."

Now, this sentiment of patriotism, in the larger sense in which I have defined it, is something which, like the devotion of wives, or perhaps more accurately, the devotion of husbands, is taken for granted. "My country may always be right but, right or wrong, my country," is the simple tenet of most English-speaking people. And while patriotism is often the subject of oratory, the theme of poetry, glorified in song and story, it is never discussed. It is quite natural this should be so. Things that are very intimate we are never very fônd of discussing. At the same time, it is a fact that things which we are never called upon to discuss, or to defend, we very seldom pause to consider. But abstract matters have a way of sometimes taking concrete form, pushing themselves to the front, and insistently demanding analysis and definition. I think this is the case to-day with Canadian patriotism. Our forefathers lived all their lives as subjects of the French King, or the English King; no academic discussions of their country's destiny, no perplexing questions of proper allegiance, disturbed the serenity of their national lives.

In Canada it has always been different. Social considerations, racial considerations, and above all, geographical considerations, have combined to give our patriotism a special character. Therefore, I think that there is not only justification for discussing at this time Canadian patriotism, but a positive need that we should so discuss it, to ascertain of what it consists and, more important, of what it should consist. Now, in the first place, I believe we have in full measure the patriotism that attaches to the land. Indeed, if there is one thing of which we are proud, it is that we have a great country. We are never tired of talking about our boundless acres and, as the swelling pride of human nature does not proceed on logical grounds, we take immense pride in these vast tracts that we have not, as yet, developed, but which are the free gift of a beneficent Creator. We are proud of our majestic rivers and lofty mountains and wonderful scenery and salubrious climate, although as I said before, they would be more justly a subject of pride if we had done a little more towards their development.

A subject which might find expression among us more often than it does at the present is the history of our possession of our country. We owe this country to the valour and achievements of British soldiers and sailors during a warfare lasting nearly one hundred years. The price that was paid for Canada was paid not only at Quebec and Louisburg, but at Oudenarde, Blenheim, and Ramilies and other battles of the War of the Spanish Succession; a war in which the pretensions of Philip of Anjou to the throne of Spain were merely an incident; a war which was prosecuted mainly to decide the question of supremacy in the New World. Similarly, in the War of the Austrian Succession, when Maria Theresa received such chivalrous support from the English people, the real issue was colonial and commercial supremacy. The theatre of war even extended to the plains of India where Clive was winning his place among the immortals.

It may, I think, be conceded that there is a strong Canadian patriotism which attaches to the land. How is it about loyalty of race? This subject is one of some delicacy because in Canada we have two Races. Here in Ontario we are all English but we have not to go many miles before we find ourselves among people principally French; therefore the question of racial loyalty is in a somewhat equivocal position. There is at this time no Canadian race; possibly there never can be a Canadian race; just as there is no American race. The United States is a great and powerful republic, assimilating in a wonderful manner men of all nationalities and all creeds and all colours, but if by some miracle, the governmental machinery of the United States were to be blown to atoms to-morrow that great mass of people would naturally dissolve into its constituent elements; so many Englishmen, Irishmen, Germans, Chinamen or negroes. I say that not in any disrespectful spirit, but because I think there cannot be, in a country composed entirely of mixed races, the same intense race loyalty which, in conjunction with love of land, makes the truest, the highest, the most enduring and binding patriotism.

Could English-Canadian people consent to any policy of action or inaction which would deprive them of their birth-right as full members of the British race? Among the English loyalty to their race is, perhaps, their deepest sentiment. I do not think it would satisfy us to be members of the British race in an indirect or merely historical sense. It seems, therefore, that the conjunction of these two factors in true patriotism is of the first importance to the Canadian Imperialist. Gentlemen, here is a country covering three and three-quarter million square miles, and yonder are three little islands covering, possibly, one hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles. Yet the importance of those two countries in the councils of the world is in inverse ratio to their territorial extent. And why? Because it takes more than acreage to make a nation. In three hundred years the British Empire has spread over one-quarter of the globe. It embraces a widely diversified population, and the fundamental principle, the prime factor, in upbuilding the British Empire has been the Anglo-Saxon character and the race qualities which belong to the Anglo-Saxon. Great Britain has been the greatest civilizing and colonizing power that the world has ever seen.

Last week in Toronto a number of our citizens of the legal profession were privileged to hear an address by the Solicitor-General, the Hon. Mr. Lemieux. I quote these words: "England has been in the world the nurse of liberty; she has understood better than any other nation the art of government. The British Empire is founded upon the eternal principles of liberty." That is true, gentlemen. Strong to rule she has always been strong to let go when the machinery of government could be safely entrusted in the hands of others; and, in consequence, working unceasingly on the raw material of the world, she has produced unceasingly and increasingly, crops of free men; and now, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, the fairest jewel, as it is said, in the girdle of nations which compose the British Empire, the Dominion of Canada, shining with resplendent lustre, has attracted the attention of the world; and our fertile plains are now the goal towards which thousands of thrifty and hardy settlers are directing their course. To what process do we intend that the raw material of this country shall be subjected?

I believe that the destiny of Canada is to perpetuate the British race and to testify to the principles upon which the British Empire is founded. I really do not look forward with any great degree of satisfaction to Canada as in some sense an independent nation, at the best a polyglot nation of all the different peoples of the world, without the same ideals, without the same traditions, and without a continuous history. If the patriotism of Canada does not finally include the two necessary ingredients, I am strongly of the opinion that the Imperial mission, as we view it, will not be fulfilled. Canada within the British Empire, a nation within the British Empire, would inspire the highest patriotism. Love of land; why not? Indeed, the round world over where is there a land of greater beauty? Our northern climate produces not only abundant crops but men capable of controlling the destinies of the world. If rugged mountains are a desideratum to inspire us to loyalty, have we not rugged mountains and majestic rivers and placid lakes and broad plains and sounding seas and everything else that could inspire a man to feel the true poetic fervour when he utters the words, "My Country"?

There remains the other factor. Is the British race satisfactory for our loyalty? It needs no panegyric from me, but I remember a few years ago when Great Britain was in that position described as "splendid isolation," a member of the Senate of the United States said on the floor of that august body: "When I saw those little islands surrounded by the inviolate sea, standing alone and undismayed before a world in arms, I thanked God I belonged to that race." (Applause.) In war and peace, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, the record has been an honourable one. The country that produced Nelson and Wellington produced also Pitt and Disraeli, and Clive and Cecil Rhodes. But again I am reminded that there are two races in Canada and that it is a very difficult question. I am well aware that it is not Clive and Cecil Rhodes whose images fill the mental horizon of our French-fellow citizens, but the devout and intrepid Champlain, the strong and courageous Frontenac, the romantic and adventurous La Salle, whose ill-fated voyage to Cathay is not unsuitably commemorated by the restless waters of the Lachine Rapids.

Many of the historic figures in the history of Canada belong to the French nationality. Therefore, this racial solidarity or racial unity cannot be expected to appeal to our fellow subjects in the same way as to us. I am sorry it is the case, but is it not the fortune of war, the throw of the dice from the box of Fortune? The question for us is, what is to be the national, dominant, patriotism of Canada? I admire our French-fellow subjects, but I believe that it is necessary, if Canada is to be amongst the great peoples of the world, that she must be a British Canada, must be more and more impressed with the qualities of the British race. Then we shall have both of the essential factors in our national patriotism. Then we shall be in very truth a part of a great people; then this young giant will assume the burden that has been borne so long by the little land across the water; then the British race will be perpetuated, rejuvenated and strengthened anew, and Britain's rule will be founded again in the broad acres of Canada. This is a British country, and I do not think it is necessary to apologize for saying so, nor is it necessary to apologize for wishing it to take a more prominent position in the British Empire.

The Quebec Act did not succeed in making this anything but a British country, and I do not believe that anything will, if we only do our duty. Our French fellow-countrymen themselves are perfectly satisfied as British subjects, even though they may not be able to enter into the full appreciation of the grand ideal of a British Canada with the same feeling that we do. Under British rule, they have been eminently happy, eminently contented, eminently prosperous. Sixty years after the rule of Louis XV. was succeeded by that of George III., Papineau, the French-Canadian orator, uttered these words: "From that day the reign of law succeeds to that of violence; from that day the treasure, the navies and armies of Great Britain are mustered to afford us an invincible protection against external danger." Nearly one hundred and fifty years after the commencement of British rule in Canada, namely, in the year 1905, within a week from to-day, the Solicitor-General to whom I have referred, spoke in Toronto as follows: "If you ask me as a French-Canadian why I am deeply attached to Great Britain, it is because I find in her institutions and under her flag all the protection which I need. It is because she has been in the world the nurse of liberty. She has understood better than any other nation the art of government."

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I respect the gentleman who uttered those words and I respect the idea which he expressed in that connection, that the unity of the two races in Canada does not necessarily mean assimilation; but as an English-Canadian and as, I trust, a practical Imperialist, I am most anxious to see British character impressed more and more deeply, year by year, upon this country. I wish the country to be dedicated to the perpetuation of British ideals, the British system of government, British standards of honour, of justice, of truth, and of liberty; and if that is an ideal towards which we ought to strive, then it is an ideal for which we ought to be able and willing to make some sacrifices. Our present attitude on the Imperial question is to me extremely distasteful. They say that the hypocrite is never completely successful in his hypocrisy till he succeeds in deceiving himself, and I believe that we are deceiving ourselves in the Imperial question. We are allowing it to be complicated with all sorts of ideas, yet the question is not so complex. Do we wish to be, and continue to be, a nation within the British Empire, or do we not? If we do why do we not frankly say so? Why do we not boldly ask for such increase in our constitutional powers as we consider necessary? Why do we not bravely demand such representation as we consider fair and why do we not freely say that we will undertake our share of the burdens instead of approving of these ideas in private and allowing our minds to be confused with all sorts of questions about treaty-making powers, about taxation without representation, about the invasion of local autonomy, and other questions of that sort?

These questions are very important and I do not believe that in the promotion of one principle we should abandon another principle which is equally good, or better. Representation without taxation is certainly a false system of procedure, but there never has been, as far as I know, a clear-cut statement made by any public man in Canada that, if we are given the representation which we consider necessary, we will do our part in every way as members of the British Empire. Have we a man strong enough to say that? The real trouble lies in the fact that, while we have many men ready and anxious to be first in all Imperial movements and some notable men who are determined to be last in such movements, our public men are "in the middle." The men who are in the middle are sometimes safe men. They are sometimes cowardly men, but they are never men who can successfully inspire the people to carry out a great purpose. The Scripture says, "The last shall be first and the first shall be last," but there is no mention made of "the man in the middle."

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*Curran, Captain A.
Cooper, J. A.
Cook, J. E.
Clark, J. M., K.C.
Campbell, A. H., jr.
Crawford, George S.
Carrick, W. H.
Chestnut, E. H.
Curran, Alfred H.
Church, Thos. L.
Crane, Samuel.
*Champion, Thos, E.
Clutterbuck, Dr. Herbert.
Cumberland, Barlow.
Croft, Wm., jr.
*Clark, Prof. W., D.C.L.
Cameron, Ewen.
Candee, C. N.
Cowan, J. W.
Chapman, Geo. A.
Craig, Wm.
Crickmore, Edwn.i
*Coyne, J. H. S.
Clouse, Dr. Elias H.
Chisholm, W. C.
Chadwick, E. M.
Culverwell, J. A.
Clark, Dr. C. Day.
Code, R. G.
Campbell, Graham.
*Cawthra, W. H.
Cayley, Rev. E. C.
Cameron, Capt. M. C.
*Cox, E. Strachan.
Campbell, W. M.

Davison, W. H.
Davison, J. Reginald.
Dawkin, J. L.
Donovan, A. E.
Davis, Bodwell N., K.C.
Davison, Robert C.
Dyas, W. J.
DeLaHaye, J. M.
Davies, E. C.
Dingle, Frank E.
Davis, Ernest W.
Dent, C. Reade.
Dewart, H. H., K.C.
Davies, W. H.
*Denison, A. R.
Dagge, Edward.
Denison, Lieut.-Col. Geo. T.
Duckworth, Rev. H. T. F.
Des Voeux, Capt. H. J.
Dinnis, Arthur.
Drummond, A. T.
*Drummond, H. A.
*Deacon, G. P.
*Dickson, R. G.
Douglas, Davidson.
Douglas, W. A.
*Darling, Frank.
Darby, Wm. J.
*Davidson, Lieut.-Col. J. I.

Evans, Col. G. T.
Ellis, Dr. W. H.
Ewart, John H.
*Elliott, Charles.
Embree, Luther E.
Elliott, Dr.
Embree, Dr. Melville H.
Esler, John.
Ellis, J. A.
Echlin, J. C.
Eddis, J. Hooper,
Evans, A. Kelly.
Eby, J. F.
Ellis, John F.
Eastmure, A. L.

Frankland, H. R.
Ferguson, Dr. J.
Foster, Chas. Colley.
*Flynn, J. H.
Falconbridge, J. D., M.A.
Fetherstonhaugh, J. E.
Fraser, W. P.
Fenwick, H. E.
*Fetherstonhaugh, F.B.
Frink, Henry W.
Fisher, J. W.
*Fullerton, J. S., K.C.
Freyseng, Ed. J.

Foster, Hon. George E., M.P.
Farquharson, R. A.
Fotheringham, Dr. J. T.
*Fraser, Alexander.
Foy, Hon. J. J., K.C.
Fulton, W. J.
*Francis, G. L.
*Forster, J. W. L.
Fahey, Wm.
Farewell, F. L.
Foster, J. M., B.A.
Fahey, J. M.

Gash, Norman B.
*Grier, Capt. E. Wyly.
Gooch, F. H.
Gooch, R. N.
Gibson, A. Cecil.
Galt, T. P.
Graydon W.
Gillespie, C. T.
Goggin, D. J., M.A., LL.D.
Glover, J. A.
Goldman, L.
Goldman, C. A. E.
Grant, J. C.
Griffin, Watson.
Giverson, A. E.
Gale, J. William.
George, W. K.
Grant, Wilbur G.
*Green, W. J.
Gurney, Edward.
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George, James.
Graham, Dr. George W.
Gilbert, A. T.

Hargrave, J. E.
Hill, W. E.
Hardy, Dr. E. B.
Houston, Wm.
Henderson, Rev. A. E.
Henderson, Elmes.
Ham, Dr. Albert.
Hutchins, S. V.
Hitchins, W. R.
Hughes, James L.
Henderson, Major W.
*Hopkins, J. Castell.
Hayes, F. B.
Hall, W. H.
Hall, John E.
*Hunter, W. E. Lincoln.
Harris, Geo. F. R.
Harling, E. Dawson.
Hector, Robert.
Horsey, J. Hayden.
Hewetson, H. C.
Holland, W. H.
Houston, Stewart.
Heintzman, G.
Holcroft, C. F.
Horton, E. E.
Heggie, Dr. W. C.
Hunter, Capt. A. T.
Hall, J. G,
Harvey, F.
Henderson, James.
Haworth, Geo. F.
Haultain, T. A., M.A.
Harris, Lloyd.
Haywood, James.

Innes, John.

Jones, Frank B.
Johnston, Hugh.
Jones, S. Alfred.
*Junkin, J. F.
*Junkin, R.
Jarrett, Thos.
Jones, Herbert C.
Jones, A. F.
Jenkins, Professor
Jones, Sidney.
Jaffray, Robert.
*Jones, W. Wallace.
Junkin, Geo. H.
Jarvis, Æmilius.
Jaffrey, A. H.
Jarvis, Beaumont.
Jarvis, Edgar J.
Joynt, R. L., M.P.P.

Kynoch, James.

Kirkpatrick, G. B.
Kilgour, J. B.
Kearns, R. J.
Kenny, J. J.
*Kilgour, D. E., B.A.
King, Rev. E. W.
Kains, J. M.
Kirkpatrick, A. E.
King, J. S.
Kerr, W. A. H.
Kirkpatrick, A. M. M.
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Layton, H. A.
*Langton, J. G., Major.
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Levescont, Capt. R. E.
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Logan, C. T.
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Lightbourn, F. J.
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Lovering, W. M.
Lount, John Ewart.
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Langton, Thos., K.C., LL.B.

Marquis, T. G., B.A.
*Machum, E. R.
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*Mason, Major J. Cooper, D.S.O.
*Mason, Lt.-Col. James.
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*Morren, E. W. S.
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Marks, George.
*Miller, J. B.
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Mearns, F. S.
Matthews, W. C.
Mason, Thos.
Mason, A. J.
Monk, G. W.
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Montague, Hon. Dr. W. H.
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Milne, W. S.
Miller, Walter.
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Medland, Wm.
Meyers, Dr. D. Campbell.
*Murray, C. M.
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Muntz, G. Harold.
Meyers, G. W.
Manley, Major F. F.
Miln, Jas.
Marshall, N.
Mallon, J. F.
Mead, C. T.
Mulholland, R.
McKay, J. F.
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McCullough, Dr. J. S.
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McGillivray, Col. John A., K.C.
McLaughlin, M.
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Mackay, John.
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Mackenzie, J. H.
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McCabe, J. W.
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Macdonald, C. E.
McQuade, Dr. M. A.
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Macdonnell, A. C., M.P.
McCollum, T. E.
Macnab, Rev. A. W.
McMillan, H. T.
McConkey, T. G.
McMichael, S. W.
McMurrich, W. B., K.C.
McNaught, W. K., M.L.A.
McGillivray, M. W.
McEachern, Norman.
Mackenzie, Kenneth F.
McCulloch, Q. D.
McCulley, C. Caleb.
Macdougall, Duncan H.
McKechnie, F. R.
McDougall, Duncan J.
McGuire, P. H.
McAvity, Allan G.
McMurchy, Archibald.
McWhinney, J. M.

Northway, John.
Nichol, Geo. B.
Nicholls, H. G.
Nicholls, Frederic.
Nattress, Surgeon Lt.-Col. W.
Northway, Wm. E.
Neville, R. S.
Northcote, R.

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*Orr, W. H.
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Osborne, James Kerr.
Ogle, E. W.
*Osborne, J. Ewart.
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*Patriarche, P. H.
*Pepler, A.
Putnam, G. A.
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Price, Lewis A.
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Pellatt, Lt.-Col. Sir H. M.
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Pell, H. B.
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Richardson, Dr. E. K.

Roberts, J. E.
Roden, Thos.
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Ricketts, C. W.
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Russell, Jack.
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Strathy, Winder.
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Sullivan, J. M.
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Shaw, W. H.
Sanderson, F,
Sclanders, F. M.
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Sherwood, W. A., A.R.C.A.
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Sutcliffe, John I.
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Sedgewick, Geo.
Scadding, Crawford, M.D.
Sheahan, Dr. F. J.
*Simpson, E. R.
Stupart, R. F.
Shaw, Lt.-Col. G. A.
Strathy, P. J., M.D.
Scott, James.
Shaw, John.
*Spaulding, L. A.
Sutherland, H.
Saunders, Bernard, jr.
Saunders, B.
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Somerville, C. E.
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*Sutton, T. E. P.
Stevenson, Geo.
*Stewart, W. F.
Stickle, C. H.
Scott, Prof. Fraser.
Scott, W. A.
Smith, W. A.
Stewart, A. M. S.
Smith, Prof. G. O.

Thorburn, Dr. Jas. D.
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Thomson, R. G. O.
Thompson, Archibald W.
Thompson, John.
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Thorn, J. O.
Tindall, W. B.
Thomas, A. W.
Toogood, Fred. T.
Thayer, Grover.
Thornton, Thos. P.
Thompson, J. Enoch.

Ussher, J. F. H.

Vick, George.
Vandersmissen, Prof. W. H.

Windeyer, W.
Welch, Rev. Canon.
Wreyford, Chas. D.

Wood, W. R.
*Winter, L. A.
Wilcox, E. M., B.A.
Wainright, A. C. S.
Weston, J. F.
Wright, Alex. W.
Wreyford, J. C.
Whittemore, H. T.
Wright, Henry.
Wyatt, H. F.
Webber, Vivian L.
Webb, A. E.
Watson, Dr. A. D.
Williams, H. H.
Wallace, William.
Walker, Gardner.
Warren, Darrell.
Wiley, H. McD.
Wodehouse, T. F.
Wilkie, D. R.
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Wright, Jos.
Wright, E. F.
Wickett, Samuel R.
Walmsley, Thomas.
Woods, J. W.
Wilkinson, R.
West, Louis J.
Weston, W. H.
Winton, Robert, jr.,
Woodland, C. W. I.
Woods, J. H.
Wallington, Geo. P.
Wiltshire, H. Horace.
Whish, Commander.
Wallace, Lt.-Col. W.
Wonham, Walter R.
Wansborough, Cuthbert C.
Welsh, T. A.

Yarker, G. W.
Young, J. A., jr.
Young, Henry T. S.
Younge, R. J.
Young, R. E.
Young, Prof. A. H.

Zeigler, O.

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